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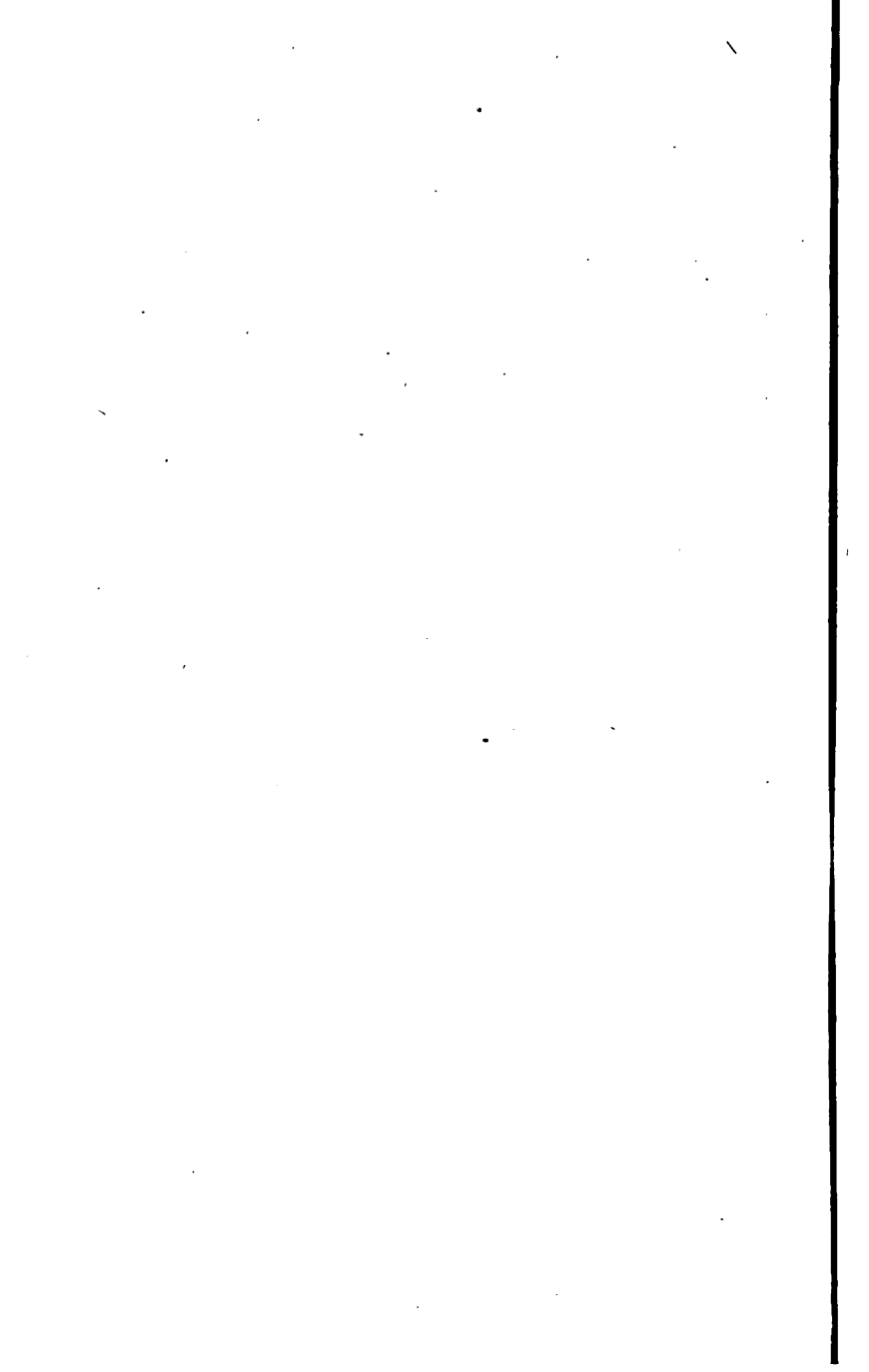




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PLUTARCH

ON THE

DELAY OF THE DEITY

IN

PUNISHING THE WICKED.

REVISED EDITION,

WITH

NOTES,

BY

PROFESSORS H. B. HACKETT AND W. S. TYLER.

*Όταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῇ, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος, οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.—Rom. ii. 14, 15.

Sive argumentum spectes, nullum majus graviusque est ; sive explicandi rationem, adeo subtiliter eleganterque disputavit Plutarchus, ut, summorum virorum judicio, proxime ad Christianae doctrinae praestantiam accesserit. WYTTEBACH.

NEW YORK:

D. APPLETON & CO., 443 & 445 BROADWAY.

1867.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

It may be proper to repeat here the import of a few sentences from this Preface, since they have a bearing also on the object and plan of the present publication.

The hope was expressed there that Theological students especially would find the reading of this treatise useful to them as a means of keeping up their knowledge of the Greek language and making still further progress in it. The book may be used as a sort of parallel course at the same time with the study of the New Testament. The earnest student of the Gospels and Paul's Epistles will not be content with the acquisitions in Greek scholarship which he brings from the College to the Seminary.

This destination of the work suggests at once the reasons for selecting this treatise of Plutarch. The title indicates its general object. We can conceive of no question which is likely to have been so full of perplexity to the mind of a thoughtful heathen as the one which is here brought up for discussion—the question, namely, how the impunity, and not unfrequently the signal prosperity of the wicked, can be reconciled with the doctrine of a just Providence; or, in other words, with the belief of a Deity who observes the right and the wrong of human actions, and governs the world according to the principles of a righteous moral retribution. A subject like this, as viewed from the

position of those destitute of the light of revelation, could not have failed to present much which was mysterious, and to all appearance incapable of explanation. We see from the treatise before us what objections were urged against the justice of Providence from this source, and also what replies could be offered to them, on grounds of mere reason or natural religion.* The work, in the first instance, was directed more particularly against the followers of Epicurus. As a sect, they denied the moral accountability of men; they acknowledged nothing as retributive in the sufferings or allotments of life; they referred everything to an inexorable fate, or mere chance; while, in common with other ancient skeptics, they alleged, as one of the main arguments for their opinion, the self-evident absurdity of any other; since nothing, as they affirmed, could be more reproachful to the gods, than to attribute to them any concern in the government of a world which exhibits such a manifest want of correspondence between the experience and the deserts of men. The considerations which Plutarch has here urged, for the purpose of obviating or diminishing the force of such a statement, are such as evince an elevation of views, a depth and soundness of moral feeling, to which I know of no parallel in any work of pagan antiquity. I am not aware, indeed, that even Ohristian writers, who have attempted to defend the same truth within the same limits of natural theology, have been able to do anything better than to reaffirm his positions, and perhaps amplify and illustrate his arguments.†

The object of the notes has been not so much to criticize the reasoning and views of the author, as to put the reader in a

* A summary of the argument will be found prefixed to the notes.

† On the question whether Plutarch had any knowledge of Christianity, see Appendix at the end of the notes.

situation to form his own judgment concerning their correctness and relevancy. It was impossible, in order to attain this end, to insert fewer historical notes than have been introduced. The rule followed was to presuppose, on the part of the reader, all the knowledge of this sort which it was reasonable to expect, and yet avoid making it necessary for him to resort to books which he might not have within reach, or which he could not stop to examine without an irksome delay. Yet, with this restriction, the space allotted to such notes is not inconsiderable : in part because the illustrations from fact and example, which occur in the work, are so very numerous, and in part because these take us so often entirely out of the ordinary circle of history. Occasional references have been made to passages both in the Old and New Testaments. The design of these in part is to call attention to some of those contrasts or accordances of sentiment which strike one in comparing the Scriptures with the writings of heathen authors, and which are not uninteresting, as showing the infinite superiority of the Gospel to the purest pagan morality ; while at the same time they teach us how entirely consonant to the dictates of sound reason are many of the very doctrines of Revelation which objectors have most violently assailed. The other references of this nature relate mostly to points of language which involve some analogy to that of the New Testament, and deserve to be noticed the more because the Greek of Plutarch comes so near to the dialect of the first Christian writers.

No recent scholar has edited this treatise. It has been necessary to rely chiefly on the labors of the older critics, as Xylander, Reiske, Hutten, Wyttenbach. Something has been gleaned from other sources indicated in the notes. The text followed is, in the main, that of Wyttenbach. Some variations from this,

many of them suggested by this distinguished critic, will be found in the Tauchnitz edition, published at Leipsic, 1829, and that of Dübner, from the press of Didot, Paris, 1841.

H. B. H.

NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION,
December 27, 1843.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

THE first edition of this treatise was published in 1844. That having been out of print for several years, the present edition is now issued in compliance with the request of various friends of classical learning, and in the conviction that a work so valuable for the moral lessons which it teaches, and so well adapted for occasional use as a text-book, as well as for private study, should be kept within the reach of teachers and others who might desire to read the work in the original. Time and experience have confirmed the conviction which we have always entertained of the surpassing value of the writings of Plutarch, as emphatically the historian of divine Providence, among the writers of heathen antiquity, and of this treatise in particular, as a means of strengthening men's faith in the certainty of moral retributions, and of arousing them to a juster sensibility to the deserts of crime committed against law, divine or human.

The former edition (owing in part to its more special design), was deficient in verbal and textual illustration. It is hoped the reader will find here the evidence of greater maturity and completeness in this respect. Additions have been made to the notes, consisting largely of grammatical and exegetical commentary, with references to the Grammars now most approved in this country, and easily consulted by the student. Many of the other notes have been rewritten, and still others abridged or

enlarged, as the nature of the subject seemed to require or allow. The text differs but little from that of the previous edition, except in the correction of typographical errors and in the punctuation. The Argument, or Summary of the contents, is more full and complete, being in fact a somewhat exhaustive statement of the doctrines, reasonings, and illustrations of the dialogue. It was supposed that many would be interested to read this Summary who might not have leisure for a critical study of the Greek text.

We are indebted to several of the Professors in our Colleges, particularly to Professor Boise, of the Michigan University, and Professor Hadley, of Yale College, for the encouragement and coöperation which they have afforded us in preparing this edition. This work forms an interesting link between the Greek of the later classical authors and the Greek of the New Testament. It may be excused, if we take the liberty, as classmates in College and friends whose intimacy the lapse now of almost twoscore years has only made still closer, to express the gratification which we feel in the association of our labors and our names in this slight contribution to classical and sacred literature.

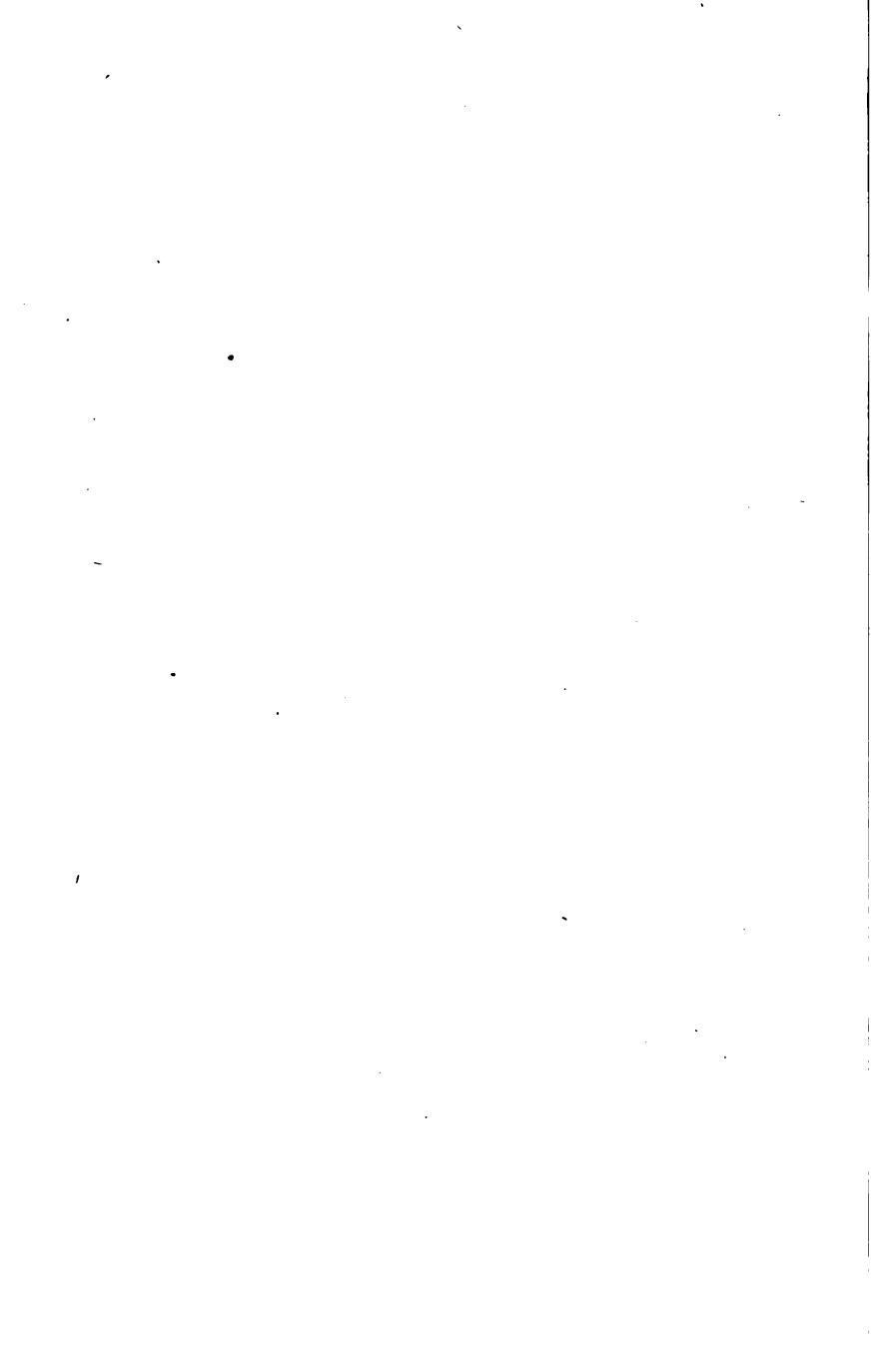
H. B. H.
W. S. T.

November 20, 1866.

ΠΑΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΤ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ

ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ.



ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΣ, ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΑΣ, ΤΙΜΩΝ,
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΣ.

Ι. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος εἰπὼν, ὦ Κύνιε, καὶ
πρὶν ἀποκρίνασθαι τινα πρὸς τῷ πέρατι τῆς στοᾶς
γενομένων ἡμῶν, ὥχετο ἀπιών· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅσον τι
θauμάσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἐπιστάντες
σιωπῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαβλέψαντες, ἀνεστρέ- 5
φομεν πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες.
Εἶτα πρῶτος ὁ Πατροκλέας· Τί οὖν; εἶπεν, ἔαν
δοκεῖ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἣ τῷ λόγῳ, καθάπερ παρόντος καὶ
μὴ παρόντος, ἀποκρινώμεθα τοῦ εἰπόντος; Ὑπολα-
βὼν δὲ ὁ Τίμων, Ἄλλ' οὐδ' εἰ βαλὼν, εἶπεν, ἀπηλ- 10
λάγη, καλῶς εἶχε περιορᾶν τὸ βέλος ἐγκείμενον· ὁ
μὲν γὰρ Βρασίδης, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξελεύσας τὸ δόρυ τοῦ
σώματος, αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν βαλόντα πατάξας ἀνείλεν·
ἡμῶν δ' ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ δῆπου τοῖς
ἀτοπον ἢ ψευδῇ λόγον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας, ἀρκεῖ δ' 15
αὐτοῖς, πρὶν ἄψασθαι τὴν δόξαν, ἂν ἐκβάλλωμεν.
Τί οὖν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μάλιστα κεκίνηκεν ὑμᾶς τῶν εἰρη-
μένων; ἀθρόα γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν οὐδέν, ἄλλο

δ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἄνθρωπος, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ τινι καὶ λοιδορία, σπαράττων ἅμα κατεφόρει τῆς προνοίας.

II. Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, ἥ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας, εἶπε, τῶν πονηρῶν βραδύτης τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μέλ-
 5 λησις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ μάλιστα δεινὸν εἶναι· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων, ὥσπερ πρόσφατος γέγονα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ καινός. Ἐκπαλαὶ δ' ἡγανάκτουν ἀκούων Εὐριπίδου λέγοντος,

Μέλλει, τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει.

10 Καίτοι πρὸς οὐδέν, ἥκιστα δὲ πρέπει πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ῥάθυμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, οὐ ῥαθύμους ὄντας αὐτοὺς, οὐδ' ἀμβολιεργοὺς τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀξύταταις ὀρμαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν φερομένους πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας. Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ παθεῖν, ὥς
 15 Θουκυδίδης φησὶν, ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, εὖθὺς ἀντιφράττει τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἐπιπλείστον εὐροούσῃ τῇ κακίᾳ χρωμένοις. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω χρέος, ὥς τὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπερήμερον γινόμενον, ἀσθενῇ μὲν ταῖς ἐλπίσι ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινὸν τὸν ἀδικούμενον, αὔξει δὲ θρα-
 20 σύτῃτι καὶ τόλμῃ τὸν μοχθηρόν· αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς τολμωμένοις ἀπαντῶσαι τιμωρίαι, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν ἐπισχέσεις ἀδικημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ παρηγοροῦν τοὺς πεπονθότας ἔνεστιν αὐταῖς· ὥς ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίαντος ἐνοχλεῖ πολλάκις ἀναλαμ-
 25 βάνοντι τὸν λόγον· ἔφη γὰρ, ὥς ἔοικε, πρὸς τινα πονηρόν, ὥς οὐ δέδιδε μὴ οὐ δῶ δίκην, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ

αὐτὸς ἐπὶ δῃ. Τί γὰρ Μεσσηνίους ὄφελος τοῖς προ-
 αναιρεθείσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας; ὃς προ-
 δούς τὴν ἐπὶ Τάφρῳ μάχην, καὶ λαθὼν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν
 ἔτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων, ὕστερον
 ἔδωκε δίκην φωραθεῖς· οἱ δὲ οὐκέτ' ἦσαν· Ἡ τίνα 5
 Ὀρχομενίων τοῖς ἀποβαλοῦσι παῖδας καὶ φίλους καὶ
 οἰκείους ὑπὸ Λυκίσκου προδοθέντας ἤνεγκε παρα-
 μυθίαν ἢ χρόνους ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀψαμένη νόσος
 καὶ κατανεμηθεῖσα τοῦ σώματος; ὃς αἰεὶ βάπτων
 καὶ βρέχων τὸ πόδε εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ὥμοσε καὶ 10
 κατηράσατο σαπῆναι, προδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδική-
 σαντος. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνησι τῶν ἐναγῶν σωμα-
 των ῥίψεις, καὶ νεκρῶν ἐξορισμούς, οὐδὲ παίδων
 παισὶν ἐπιδεῖν ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἐκείνων.
 Ὅθεν Εὐριπίδης ἄτοπος, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακίας τοῦ 15
 τοῖς χρώμενος·

Ὅθτοι προσελθοῦς ἡ Δίκη σε, μὴ τρέσῃς,
 Παίσει πρὸς ἥπαρ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
 Τὸν ἕδικον, ἀλλὰ σίγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδί
 Στείχουσα, μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς, ὅταν τύχη.

20

Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα δήπου, ταῦτα δ' αὐτὰ τοὺς κακοὺς
 εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῖς διακελενομένους καὶ παρεγγυῶ-
 ντας, ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς παρανομήμασιν, ὥς τῆς ἀδικίας
 τὸν μὲν καρπὸν εὐθύς ὥραϊον καὶ προὔπτον ἀποδι-
 δούσης, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν ὄψε καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀπο- 25
 λασσέως καθυστεροῦσαν.

- III. Ταῦτα τοῦ Πατροκλέους διελθόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικός, Ἐκεῖνο δὲ, εἶπεν, ὦ Πατροκλέα, πηλίκον αἱ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ διατριβαὶ καὶ μελήσεις ἄτοπον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἡ βραδύτης
- 5 ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς προνοίας, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρ' ἑκαστον ἀδίκημα τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπακολουθοῦν κακὸν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, εἰς ἀτυχήματος χώραν τιθέμενοι, καὶ συμφορὰν, οὐ τιμωρίαν ὀνομάζοντες, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦνται, τοῖς μὲν συμβαίνουσιν ἀχθόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πεπραγμένοις μὴ
- 10 μεταμελόμενοι. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἵππον ἡ παραχρήμᾳ τὸ πταῖσμα καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν διώκουσα πληγὴ καὶ νύξις ἐπανορθοῖ καὶ μετάνγει πρὸς τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνον σπαραγμοὶ καὶ ἀνακρούσεις καὶ περιψοφήσεις, ἑτέρου τινὸς ἕνεκα μᾶλλον δο-
- 15 κοῦσι γίνεσθαι ἡ διδασκαλίας, διὸ τὸ λυποῦν ἄνευ τοῦ παιδεύειν ἔχουσιν· οὕτως ἡ κατ' ἑκαστον ὦν πταίει καὶ προσπίπτει ῥαπιζομένη καὶ ἀνακρουομένη τῷ κολάζεσθαι κακία, μόλις ἂν γένοιτο σύννους καὶ κατάφοβος πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὥς ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς ἀνθρω-
- 20 πίνουσι πράγμασι καὶ παθεσιν οὐχ ὑπερήμερον δικαιοτήν· ἡ δ' ἀτρέμα καὶ βραδεὶ ποδὶ, κατ' Εὐριπίδην, καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐπιπίπτουσα δίκη τοῖς πονηροῖς, τῷ αὐτομάτῳ μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ὅμοιον ἔχει τὸ πεπλανημένον καὶ ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἄτακτον.
- 25 Ὡστ' οὐχ ὁρῶ, τί χρησίμου ἔνεστι τοῖς ὀψὲ δὴ τούτοις ἀλείν λεγομένοις μύλοις τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν δίκην ἀμαυρὰν, καὶ τὸν φόβον ἐξίτηλον τῆς κακίας.

IV. Ῥηθέντων οὖν τούτων, καμοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄντος, ὁ Τίμων, Πότερον, εἶπεν, ἐπιθῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἥ πρὸς ταῦτα ἑάσω πρότερον αὐτὸν διαγωνίσασθαι ; Τί γὰρ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, δεῖ τὸ τρίτον ἐπενεγκεῖν κύμα, καὶ προσκατα- 5 κλῦσαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ τὰ πρῶτα μὴ δυνατὸς ἔσται διώσασθαι μὴδ' ἀποφυγεῖν ἐγκλήματα ; Πρῶτον οὖν, ὥσπερ ὑφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχόμενοι πατρώας τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβείας τῶν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ φιλοσόφων, τὸ μὲν ὡς εἰδότες τι λέγειν περὶ τούτων, ἀφο- 10 σιωσόμεθα. Πλέον γάρ ἐστι τοῦ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀμούσους, καὶ πολεμικῶν ἀστρατεύτους διαλέγεσθαι, τὸ τὰ θεία καὶ δαιμόνια πράγματα διασκοπεῖν, ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, οἷον ἀτέχνους τεχνιτῶν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ ὑπονοίας κατὰ τὸ εἶδος μετιόντας. Οὐ 15 γὰρ ἱατροῦ μὲν ἰδιώτην ὄντα συμβαλεῖν λογισμὸν, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ἔτεμεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, οὐδὲ χθρὲς ἔλουσεν, ἀλλὰ σήμερον, ἔργον ἐστί· περὶ Θεοῦ δέ, θνητὸν ῥάδιον ἢ βέβαιον εἰπεῖν ἄλλο, πλην ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν εἰδὼς ἄριστα τῆς περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἱατρείας, 20 ὡς φάρμακον ἐκάστῳ προσφέρει τὴν κόλασιν, οὔτε μεγέθους μέτρον κοινὸν, οὔτε χρόνον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχουσαν. Ὅτι γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἱατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσάγο- ρευομένη, πασῶν ἐστι τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίους 25 ἑτέροις καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀριστοτέχνην ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἀπάντων

θεόν, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, ἢ προσήκει, τὸ
 πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἕκαστον
 τῶν πονηρῶν ὀρίζειν. Καὶ ταύτης φησὶ τῆς τέχνης
 ὁ Πλάτων υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Διὸς γεγονέναι τὸν Μίνω
 5 μαθητὴν, ὡς οὐ δυνατόν ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις κατορθοῦν,
 οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ κατορθοῦντος, τὸν μὴ μαθόντα
 μηδὲ κτησάμενον τὴν ἐπιστήμην. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδς
 ἄνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται, τὸ εὖλογον ἀπλῶς ἔχουσι
 καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ κομιδῇ
 10 γελοῖα τῶν προσταγμάτων. Οἷον, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
 κηρύττουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι παρίοντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν,
 μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς
 μὴ χαλεποὶ ὦσιν αὐτοῖς. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ, οὐδς ἂν εἰς
 ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρῶνται, κάρφος αὐτῶν λεπτὸν ἐπι-
 15 βάλλουσι τοῖς σώμασιν. Ὅταν δὲ διαθήκας γρά-
 φωσιν, ἐτέρους μὲν ἀπολείπουσι κληρονόμους, ἐτέροις
 δὲ πωλοῦσι τὰς οὐσίας· ὃ δοκεῖ παράλογον εἶναι.
 Παραλογώτατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν
 ἐν στάσει μηδετέρα μερίδι προσθόμενον μηδὲ συστα-
 20 σιάσαντα. Καὶ ὅλως πολλὰς ἂν τις ἐξείποι νόμων
 ἀτοπίας, μήτε τὸν λόγον ἔχων τοῦ νομοθέτου, μήτε
 τὴν αἰτίαν συνιείς ἐκάστου τῶν γραφομένων. Τί δὴ
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὕτως ἡμῖν ὄντων
 δυσθεωρήτων, οὐκ εὐπορόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τῶν θεῶν
 25 εἰπεῖν, ὧτινι λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ὕστερον, τοὺς δὲ πρότε-
 ρον τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολάζουσιν.

V. Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀποδράσεως πρόφασίς ἐστιν,

ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης αἵτησις· ὅπως ὁ λόγος, οἷον εἰς
 λιμένα καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀποβλέπων, εὐδαρσέστερον
 ἐξαναφέρῃ τῷ πιδανῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν. Ἀλλὰ
 σκοπεῖτε πρῶτον, ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα πάντων καλῶν
 ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παράδειγμα θέμενος, τὴν ἀν- 5
 θρωπίνην ἀρετὴν, ἐξομοίωσιν οὖσαν ἀμωσγέπως
 πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς ἑπεσθαι θεῷ δυναμένοις.
 Καὶ γὰρ ἡ πάντων φύσις ἄτακτος οὖσα ταύτην ἔσχε
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι κόσμος,
 ὁμοιότητι καὶ μεθέξει τινὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἰδέας 10
 καὶ ἀρετῆς. Καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐνάψαι
 φησὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ὑπὸ θεάς τῶν ἐν
 οὐρανῷ φερομένων καὶ θαύματος ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ
 ἀγαπᾶν ἐδιζομένη τὸ εὐσχημον ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τεταγ-
 μένον, ἀπεχθάνηται τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις καὶ πλανητοῖς 15
 πάθεσιν, καὶ φεύγῃ τὸ εἰκὴ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὡς κακίας
 καὶ πλημμελείας ἀπάσης γένεσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ
 τι μείζον ἀνθρωπος ἀπολαύειν θεοῦ πέφυκεν, ἢ τὸ
 μιμήσει καὶ διώξει τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν
 εἰς ἀρετὴν καθίστασθαι. Διὸ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐν 20
 χρόνῳ καὶ σχολαίως τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθουσιν, οὐκ αὐτὸς
 τινα τοῦ ταχὺ κολάζειν ἁμαρτίαν δεδιὼς ἢ μετάνοιαν,
 ἀλλ' ἡμῶν τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας θηριῶδες καὶ λά-
 βρον ἀφαιρῶν, καὶ διδάσκων μὴ σὺν ὀργῇ, μηδ' ὅτε
 μάλιστα φλέγεται καὶ σφαδάζει

25

- καθάπερ δίδυαν ἢ πείναν ἀποπιμπλάντας, ἐπιπηδῶν
 τοῖς λελυπηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ μιμουμένους τὴν ἐκείνου
 πρᾶξιν καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν, ἐν τάξει καὶ μετ' ἐμμε-
 λείας, τὸν ἥκιστα μετανοῶν προσοισόμενον χρόνον
 5 ἔχοντας σύμβουλον, ἄπτεσθαι τῆς δίκης. "Ἰδατι
 γὰρ τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσόντα χρῆσθαι δι' ἀκρασίαν,
 ἡττόν ἐστι κακόν, ὥς Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν, ἢ θολερὸν
 ὄντω καὶ διάπλεων τὸν λογισμὸν ὀργῆς καὶ μανίας,
 πρὶν ἢ καταστήναι καὶ γενέσθαι καθαρὸν, ἐμφο-
 10 ρεῖσθαι τιμωρίας συγγενούς καὶ ὁμοφύλου σώματος.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τοῦ παθεῖν, ὥς
 Θουκυδίδης ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπωτάτω κείμενον,
 ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ πρόσηκον. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς, κατὰ
 τὸν Μελάνθιον,

15

Τὰ δεινὰ πράττει τὰς φρένας μετουκίσας·

- οὕτω καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τὰ δίκαια πράττει καὶ μέτρια,
 τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκποδὼν θέμενος. "Ὅθεν
 ἡμεροῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις παραδείγμασιν,
 ἀκούοντες, ὥς Πλάτων τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀνατεινά-
 20 μενος τῷ παιδί, πολὺν ἔστη χρόνον, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφη,
 τὸν θυμὸν κολάζων· καὶ Ἀρχύτας οἰκετῶν τινα
 πλημμέλειαν ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀταξίαν καταμαθὼν, εἴτα
 ἑαυτοῦ συναισθανόμενος ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχοντος καὶ
 τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἢ
 25 τοσοῦτον, ἀπιῶν, Εὐτυχεῖτε, εἶπεν, ὅτι ὀργίζομαι
 ὑμῖν. Εἴπερ οὖν ἀνδρῶν λόγοι μνημονεύόμενοι καὶ

πράξεις λεγόμεναι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρὸν ἀπαρύτουσι
 τῆς ὀργῆς, πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶν-
 τας, ὃ δέος οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ μετάνοια πράγματος οὐδενὸς,
 ὁμῶς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν τιμωρίαν κατατιθέμενον,
 καὶ περιμένοντα τὸν χρόνον, εὐλαβεῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα 5
 γενέσθαι, καὶ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι μῶριον ἀρετῆς τὴν
 πραότητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπάθειαν, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείκ-
 νυται, τῷ μὲν κολάζειν ὀλίγους ἐπανορθοῦσαν, τῷ δὲ
 βραδέως πολλοὺς ὠφελοῦσαν καὶ νοθετοῦσαν.

VI. Δεύτερον τοίνυν τοῦτο διανοηθῶμεν, ὥς αἱ 10
 μὲν δικαιώσεις αἱ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἔχουσι τὸ
 ἀντιλνποῦν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῶς τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν
 ἴστανται, περαιτέρω δ' οὐκ ἐξικνούνται· διὸ τοῖς
 ἀμαρτήμασι κυνὸς δίκην ἐφυλακτοῦσαι κατακολου-
 θοῦσι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπιδιδῶκουσι· τὸν 15
 θεὸν δ' εἰκὸς, ἥς ἂν ἐφάπτηται τῇ δίκῃ ψυχῆς
 νοσοῦσης, τὰ τε πάθῃ διορᾶν, εἴ πῃ τι καμπτόμενα
 πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἐνδίδωσι, καὶ χρόνον γε πρὸς ἐπα-
 νόρθωσιν, οἷς οὐκ ἄκρατος οὐδ' ἄτρεπτος ἢ κακία
 πέφυκε, προσιζάνειν. "Ατε γὰρ εἰδὼς, ὅσην μοῖραν 20
 ἀρετῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερόμεναι πρὸς γένεσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ
 βαδίζουσι, καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὥς ἰσχυρὸν αὐταῖς καὶ
 οὐκ ἐξίτηλον ἐμπέφυκεν, ἐξανθεῖ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὴν
 κακίαν ὑπὸ ὁμίλιας φαύλης φθειρόμενον, εἴτα θε-
 ραπευθὲν ἐνίοις καλῶς, ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν προσήκου- 25
 σαν ἔξιν, οὐ πᾶσι κατεπάγει τὴν τιμωρίαν ὁμοίως·
 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀνῆκεστον εὐθὺς ἐξεῖλε τοῦ βίου καὶ

ἀπέκοψεν, ὥς ἑτέροις γε πάντως βλαβερὸν, αὐτῷ
 τε βλαβερώτατον, αἰεὶ συνεῖναι μετὰ πονηρίας· οἷς
 δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἢ προαιρέσει τοῦ
 αἰσχροῦ, τὸ ἀμαρτητικὸν εἶκος ἐγγεγονέναι, δίδωσι
 5 μεταβαλέσθαι χρόνον· ἐὰν δ' ἐπιμένωσι, καὶ τούτοις
 ἀπέδωκε τὴν δίκην· οὐ γάρ που δέδιδε, μὴ διαφύ-
 γωσιν. Σκόπει δὲ, ὅσαι μεταβολαὶ γεγονάσιν εἰς
 ἦθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ βίον· ἥ καὶ τρόπος ὠνομάσθῃ τὸ
 μεταβάλλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦθος, ὥς πλείστον αὐτοῦ
 10 ἐνδύεται τὸ ἦθος, καὶ κρατεῖ μάλιστα καθαρπτόμενον.
 Οἶμαι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα διφυᾶ προσαγορευ-
 σαι τοὺς παλαιούς, οὐχ ὥς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ χρησ-
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγριον καὶ δρακοντώδη γενόμενον
 τύραννον, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ἐν ἀρχῇ σκολιὸν ὄντα καὶ
 15 φοβερὸν, εἰθ' ὕστερον ἄρξαντα πρῶως καὶ φιλαν-
 θρώπως. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ Γέλωνά γ' ἴσμεν
 καὶ Ἰέρωνα, τοὺς Σικελιώτας, καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν
 Ἰπποκράτους, ὅτι πονηρία κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας,
 ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς, καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ
 20 τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς
 ἄρχοντες· οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέ-
 λειαν παρασχόντες, αὐτούς τε σώφρονας τοὺς πολί-
 τας καὶ φιλεργούς, ἐκ πολυγέλων καὶ λάλων κατα-
 σκευάσαντες· Γέλων δὲ καὶ προσπολεμήσας ἄριστα
 25 καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρή-
 νην ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους, ἥ καὶ τοῦτο
 ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα

τῷ Κρόνῳ καταδύοντες. Ἐν δὲ Μεγάλῃ πόλει
 Δυδιάδας ἦν τύραννος, εἴτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τυραννεῖν
 μεταβαλλόμενος, καὶ δυσχεράνας τὴν ἀδικίαν, ἀπέ-
 δωκέ μὲν τοὺς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις, μαχόμενος δὲ
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιφανῶς 5
 ἔπεσεν. Εἰ δέ τις ἢ τύραννον ἀπέκτεινε Μιλτιάδην
 ἐν Χερρόνῳ πρότερον, ἢ Κίμωνα συνόντα τῇ ἀδελ-
 φῇ διώξας εἶλεν, ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαί-
 νων ἐκώμαζε καὶ ὕβριζε δι' ἀγορᾶς, ἀφείλετο τὴν
 πόλιν, ὥς ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδου, γραψάμενος, ἄρ' οὐκ 10
 ἂν ἀπολώλειςαν ἡμῖν οἱ Μαραθῶνες; οἱ Εὐρυμέδον-
 τες; τὸ καλὸν Ἀρτεμίσιον,

“Οἳ παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλλοντο

Φαεννὰν κρηπὶδ' ἐλευθερίας;

Οὐθέν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσιν, 15
 οὐδ' ἀργεῖ δι' ὀξύτητα τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ δρα-
 στήριον, ἀλλ' ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται, πρὶν εἰς τὸ μόνι-
 μον καὶ καθεστηκὸς ἦθος ἐλθεῖν. “Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ γεωρ-
 γίας ἄπειρος οὐκ ἂν ἀσπάσαιτο χώραν ἰδὼν λόχμης
 ἔμπλεων δασείας καὶ φυτῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ θηρία πολλὰ 20
 καὶ ρεύματα καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσιν πηλὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ με-
 μαθηκότῳ διαισθάνεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν, αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὴν
 ἰσχὺν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ὑποδείκνυσι καὶ τὴν μαλακότη-
 τα τῆς γῆς· οὕτως ἄτοπα πολλὰ καὶ φαῦλα προ-
 εξανθοῦσιν αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις, ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν εὖθὺς τὸ 25
 τραχὺ καὶ νύττον οὐ φέροντες, ἀποκόπτειν οἴομεθα

δεῖν καὶ κολούειν· ὁ δὲ βελτίων κριτῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνορῶν τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ γενναῖον, περιμένει λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς συνεργὸν ἡλικίαν καὶ ὥραν, ἥ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἢ φύσις καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσι.

- 5 VII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ· τὸν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμον ἄρ' οὐκ εἰκότως ὑμῖν ἀπογράφασθαι δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃς κελεύει τὴν ἔγκυον, ἂν ἀλῶ θανάτου, μέχρι τέκῃ, φυλάττειν; Πάνν μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. Εἶπον οὖν ἐγὼ, Εἰ δὲ παιδία μὴ κύῃ τις, ἀλλὰ
10 πρᾶξιν ἢ βουλὴν ἀπόρρητον εἰς φῶς ἡλίου δυνατὸς ἢ προσαγαγεῖν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀναδείξαι, κακόν τι μηνύσας λαυθάνον, ἢ σωτηρίου γνώμης γενόμενος σύμβουλος, ἢ χρεῖας εὐρετῆς ἀναγκαίας, οὐκ ἀμείνων ὁ περιμείνας τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ προανελόντος; ἐμοὶ
15 μὲν γὰρ, ἔφην, δοκεῖ. Καὶ ἡμῖν, ὁ Πατροκλέας εἶπεν. Ὁρῶς ἔφην. Σκόπει γὰρ, εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔδωκε δίκην, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἂν Ἑλλήνων ᾧκει Σικελίαν ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων γενομένην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν, οὐδ' Ἀνακτό-
20 ριον οὐδὲ τὴν Λευκαδίαν χερρὸνῆσον ᾧκουν Ἕλληνες, εἰ Περίανδρος ἐκολάσθη μὴ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ γενέσθαι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολὴν, ὅπως αἱ Θῆβαι συνοικῶνται πάλιν. Τῶν δὲ τουτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συγκαταλαβόντων ξένων οἱ πολλοὶ
25 Τιμολεόντι συνδιαβάντες εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν καὶ κατέλυσαν τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐξώλουντο κακοὶ κακῶς ὕστερον. Ἐνίοις γὰρ ἀμέλει

καὶ κολασταῖς ἑτέρων πονηρῶν, οἷον δημοκοίνοις, ἀπεχρήσατο τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' ἐπέτριψε, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὑαίνης χολή, καὶ φώκης πυτία, θηρίων τᾶλλα μαρῶν, ἔχουσι 5
 τι πρὸς τὰς νόσους χρήσιμον, οὕτως ἐνίοις δηγμοῦ δεομένοις καὶ κολάσεως ἐμβαλὼν ὁ θεὸς πικρίαν τινὰ τυράννου δυσμελίικτον, καὶ τραχύτητα χαλεπήν ἄρχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐξεῖλε τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ταραττον, ἢ τὸ νοσοῦν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ καθάραι. Τοιοῦτο καὶ Φάλαρις ἦν Ἀκραγαντίνους φάρμακον, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Μάριος. Σικυωνίοις δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ θεὸς προεῖπε μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι Τελητίαν παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθίοις ἀφαιρούμενοι Κλεωναίων, ὡς ἴδιον πολίτην, διέσπασαν. Ἀλλὰ Σικυωνίοις μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος, καὶ 15
 μετ' ἐκείνουν οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένην, τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἔπαυσαν. Κλεωναῖοι δὲ, τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ τυχόντες ἰατρείας, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἤκουσι. Καὶ Ὀμήρου δέ που λέγοντος ἀκούετε,

Τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολλὸν χείρονος υἱὸς ἀμείνων

20

Παρτοίην ἀρετὴν.

καίτοι λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐκείνος ὁ τοῦ Κοπρέως παρέσχευ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ Σισύφου καὶ τὸ Αὐτολύκου καὶ τὸ Φλεγύου γένος ἤνθησεν ἐν δόξαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς μεγάλων βασιλέων. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ Πε- 25
 ρικλῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἐναγοῦς οἰκίας. καὶ Πομπηΐος

- Μάγνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Στράβωνος ἦν υἱὸς, οὗ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὑπὸ μίσους ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατεπάτησε. Τί οὖν ἄτοπον, εἰ, καθάπερ γεωργὸς οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τὴν ἄκανθαν, ἀν μὴ λάβῃ τὸν ἀσπάραγον,*
- 5 *οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες τὸ φρύγανον ἐπικαίουσι πρότερον, ἢ τὸ λήδανον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγεῖν, οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ βασιλικοῦ γένους ῥίζαν πονηρὰν καὶ τραχεῖαν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ πρότερον, ἢ φῦναι τὸν προσήκοντα καρπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ; Μυρίας γὰρ Ἰφίτου βοῦς καὶ*
- 10 *ἵππους ἀπολέσθαι κρεῖττον ἦν Φωκεῦσι, καὶ πλείονα χρυσὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν οἷχεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον, ἢ μῆτ' Ὀδυσσεά μῆτ' Ἀσκληπιὸν φῦναι, μῆτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μεγαλοφελεῖς γενομένους.*
- 15 *VIII. Τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ προσήκοντι γενέσθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, οὐ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ ταχὺ καὶ παραχρῆμα νομίζειν ; Οἷόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ Κάλλιππον, ὃ ξιφιδίῳ φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀπέκτεινε Δίωνα, τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀποθανεῖν · καὶ*
- 20 *τὸ Μιτίου τοῦ Ἀργείου κατὰ στάσιν ἀναιρεθέντος, ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, θέας οὔσης, ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ κτείναντι τὸν Μίτιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Βέσσον τὸν Παίονα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα, τὸν Οἰταῖον ξεναγωγὸν, οἶσθα δῆπουθεν, ὧ Πατροκλέα. Μὰ Δί',*
- 25 *εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ δέομαι μαθεῖν. Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστων, ἔφην, τὸν Ἐριφύλης κόσμον ἐνταῦθα κείμενον καθελὼν τῶν τυράννων διδόντων, ἐκόμισε τῇ γυναικὶ δῶρον ·*

ὁ δ' υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα διοργισθεὶς ἔκ τινος αἰτίας, ὑφῆψε τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κατέκλυσεν. Ὁ δὲ Βέσσος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπεκτονῶς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὸν χρόνον ἐλάνθανεν, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς ξένους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθὼν, χελιδόνων 5
τινὰ νεοσσιὰν τῇ λόγχῃ νύξας κατέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς νεοσσοὺς διέφθειρε· λέγοντων δὲ, οἶον ἱκὸς, τῶν παρόντων, Ἀνθρῶπε, τί παθὼν ἔργον οὕτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔπραξας; Οὐ γὰρ, ἔφη, μοῦ πάλαι καταμαρτυροῦσιν αὐταὶ ψευδῶς καὶ καταβοῶσιν, ὡς ἀπεκ- 10
τονότος τὸν πατέρα; Θαυμάσαντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες τὸν λόγον ἐμήνυσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελεγχθέντος, ἔτισεν ὁ Βέσσος τὴν δίκην.

IX. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφην, ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὥσπερ ἡξίωται, γίνεσθαι τινὰ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀναβολὴν 15
ὑποδέμενοι τοῖς πονηροῖς· τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ Ἑσιόδου χρή νομίζειν ἀκροᾶσθαι, λέγοντος, οὐχ ἢ Πλάτων ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τιμωρίαν ἀδικίας πάσῃν, ἀλλ' ἡλικιώτιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμόθεν χώρας καὶ ῥίξης συν-
υποφρομένην·

20

Ἡ γὰρ κακὴ, φησὶ, βουλὴ, τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη·

καὶ

Ὅς δ' ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχει, ἐφ' ἑκατὸν ἡπατὶ τεύχει.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ κανθαρίς ἐν αὐτῇ λέγεται τὸ βοηθητικὸν ἔκ τινος ἀντιπαθείας ἔχειν συγκεκραμένον· ἡ δὲ 25
πονηρία συγγενῶσα τὸ λυποῦν ἑαυτῇ καὶ κολάζον,

- οὐχ ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὕβρει, τὴν δίκην τοῦ
 ἀδικεῖν δίδωσι. Καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολαζομένων
 ἕκαστος κακούργων ἐκφέρει τὸν αὐτοῦ σταυρόν · ἡ
 δὲ κακία τῶν κολαστηριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἕκαστον ἐξ
 5 αὐτῆς τεκταίνεται, δεινὴ τις οὐσα βίου δημιουργὸς
 οἰκτροῦ καὶ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ φόβους τε πολλοὺς καὶ
 πάθῃ χαλεπὰ, καὶ μεταμελείας καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπαύ-
 στος ἔχοντος. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἔνιοι διαφέρουσι παιδα-
 ρίων, ἃ τοὺς κακούργους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις θεώμενα
 10 πολλάκις ἐν χιτῶσι διαχρύσοις καὶ χλαμυδίαις
 αἰλουργοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πυρρῶν χιτῶν, ἀγαταὶ
 καὶ τέθῃπεν ὡς μακαρίους · ἄχρῃς οὐ κεντούμενοι καὶ
 μαστιγούμενοι καὶ πῦρ ἀνιέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρῆς
 ἐκείνης καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθῆτος ὀφθῶσιν. Οἱ γὰρ
 15 πολλοὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οἰκίας περιβεβλημένοι μεγάλας,
 καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυνάμεις περιφανεῖς, λανθάνουσιν ὅτι
 κολάζονται, πρὶν ἢ ὀφθῶσιν ἀποσφαγέντες ἢ κα-
 τακρημνισθέντες, ἅπερ ἂν τις οὐ τιμωρίαν εἴποι,
 πέρας δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ συντέλειαν. Ὡς περ γὰρ
 20 Ἡρόδικον τὸν Σηλυμβριανὸν εἰς φθίσιν ἀνήκεστον
 πάθος ἐμπεσόντα, καὶ μίξαντα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων
 γυμναστικὴν ἰατρικῇ, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, μακρὸν
 ποιῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως νοσοῦσιν ·
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ὅσοι τὴν παραντίκα πληγὴν
 25 ἐκφυγεῖν ἔδοξαν, οὐ μετὰ πλείονα χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν
 πλείονι χρόνῳ τιμωρίαν μακροτέραν, οὐ βραδυτέραν
 τίνουσιν · οὐδὲ γηράσαντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐγῆ-

ρασαν κολαζόμενοι. Λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πολὺν
 χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε θεοῖς πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου
 διάστημα τὸ μηδὲν ἐστὶ· καὶ τὸ νῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸ
 ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, οἷον τὸ δείλης ἀλλὰ
 μὴ πρωτὶ στρεβλοῦν ἢ κρεμαννύναι τὸν πονηρόν· 5
 ἄλλως τε καὶ φρουρούμενον ἐν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ
 εἰρκτῇ μηδεμίαν μετανάστασιν ἐχούσῃ μηδὲ διάφευ-
 ξιν, εὐωχίας δὲ πολλὰς διὰ μέσου καὶ πραγματείας
 καὶ δόσεις καὶ χάριτας ἀμέλει καὶ παιδιᾶς, ὥσπερ ἐν
 δεσμοτηρίῳ κυβεύοντων ἢ πεττεύοντων, ὑπὲρ κε- 10
 φαλῆς τοῦ σχοινίου κρεμαμένου.

X. Καίτοι τί κωλύει μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 καθειργνυμένους φάναι κολάζεσθαι, μέχρις οὗ τις
 ἀποκόψῃ τὸν τράχηλον; μηδὲ τὸν πεπωκότα τὸ
 κώνειον, εἴτα περιϋόντα καὶ προσμένοντα βάρος ἐγ- 15
 γενέσθαι τοῖς σκέλεσιν αὐτοῦ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν συνάπ-
 τουσαν ἀναισθησίᾳ σβέσιν καὶ πῆξιν καταλαβεῖν;
 εἰ τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς τιμωρίας καιρὸν ἡγοῦμεθα τιμω-
 ρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ παθήματα καὶ φόβους καὶ προσ-
 δοκίας καὶ μεταμελείας, οἷς ἀδικήσας ἕκαστος ἐνέχε- 20
 ται τῶν πονηρῶν, παραλείπομεν· ὥσπερ ἰχθὺν κατα-
 πεπωκότα τὸ ἄγκιστρον οὐ φάσκοντες ἐαλωκέναι,
 πρὶν ὑπὸ τῶν μαγείρων ὀπτώμενον ἴδωμεν ἢ κατα-
 τεμνόμενον. Ἐχεται γὰρ ἕκαστος ἀδικήσας τῇ δίκῃ,
 καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀδικίας ὥσπερ δέλεαρ ἐνθὺς ἐξεδή- 25
 δοκε· τὸ δὲ συνειδὸς ἐγκείμενον ἔχων καὶ ἀποτίνων,

Θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διαστροβεῖ.

Ἡ γὰρ ἰταμότης ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ θρασὺ τῆς κακίας
 ἄχρι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ισχυρόν ἐστι καὶ πρόχειρον,
 εἴτα τοῦ πάθους ὥσπερ πνεύματος ὑπολείποντος,
 ἀσθενὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑποπίπτει τοῖς φόβοις καὶ ταῖς
 5 δεισιδαιμονίαις· ὥστε πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ πρὸς
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποπλάττεσθαι τὸ τῆς Κλυταιμνήσ-
 τρας ἐνύπνιον τὸν Στῆσίχορον, οὕτωςί πως λέγοντα·

Τῷδε δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κῆρα βεβρωμένος ἄκρον,

Ἐκ δ' ἔρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη.

- 10 Καὶ γὰρ ὄφεις ἐνυπνίων, καὶ φάσματα μεσημερινὰ
 καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταιβασίαι, καὶ ὅ, τι δόξαν ἔσχεν
 αἰτία θεοῦ περαινέσθαι, χειμῶνας ἐπάγει καὶ φόβους
 τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις. Οἷον φασὶν Ἀπολλόδωρόν
 ποτε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄρᾶν ἐκδερόμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ
 15 Σκυθῶν, εἴτα καθεψόμενον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν ἐκ τοῦ
 λέβητος ὑποφθεγγομένην καὶ λέγουσαν, Ἐγὼ σοι
 τούτων αἰτία· καὶ πάλιν, τὰς θυγατέρας διαπύρους
 καὶ φλεγόμενας τοῖς σώμασι κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν
 περιτρεχούσας· Ἰππαρχον δὲ τὸν Πεισιστράτου,
 20 μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς, αἷμα προσβαλοῦσαν
 αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔκ τινος φιάλης πρὸς τὸ πρό-
 σωπον. Οἱ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Κεραυνοῦ φίλοι κα-
 λούμενον αὐτὸν ἐώρων ἐπὶ δίκην ὑπὸ Σελεύκου,
 γυνῶν καὶ λύκων δικαζόντων, καὶ κρέα πολλὰ τοῖς
 25 πολεμίοις διανέμοντα. Πausanias δὲ Κλεονίκην ἐν
 Βυζαντίῳ παρθένον ἐλευθέραν ὕβρει μεταπεμφάμε-

νος ὡς ἔξων διὰ νυκτὸς, εἴτα προσιοῦσαν ἐκ τινος
ταραχῆς καὶ ὑποψίας ἀνελών, ἑώρα πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς
ὑπνοῖς λέγουσαν αὐτῷ,

Βαῖνε δίκης ἄσπον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις·

οὐ παυομένου δὲ τοῦ φάσματος, ὡς ἔοικε, πλεύσας δ
ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, ἰλασμοῖς τισι
καὶ χοαῖς ἀνεκαλείτο τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς κόρης· ἐλθούσα
δ' εἰς ὄψιν, εἶπεν ὅτι παύσεται τῶν κακῶν ὅταν ἐν
Δακεδαίμονι γένηται· γενόμενος δὲ, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτη-
σεν. 10

XI. "Ὡστ' εἰ μηθέν ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ τὴν
τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτος πέρας ἀπάσης καὶ τιμω-
ρίας ὁ θάνατος, μᾶλλον ἢ τις εἴποι τοῖς ταχὺ κολα-
ζομένοις τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀποδνήσκουσι μαλακῶς
καὶ ῥαθύμως χρῆσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μη- 15
δὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν
πονηρῶν παρέχειν κακὸν, ἀλλ' ἐξελεγχομένης τῆς
ἀδικίας πράγματος ἀκάρπου καὶ ἀχαρίστου, καὶ
χρηστὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναφέροντος ἐκ
πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων, ἢ αἰσθησις αὐτῶν 20
ἀνατρέπει τὴν ψυχὴν. Οἶον ἰστοροῦσι δήπου Λυ-
σίμαχον ὑπὸ δόλφης ἐκβιασθέντα, καὶ παραδόντα τοῖς
Γέταις τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔπιεν ὑποχεί-
ριος γενόμενος, εἰπεῖν, Φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κακίας, ὅς δι'
ἡδονὴν οὕτω βραχεῖαν ἐστέρημαι βασιλείας τηλι- 25
καύτης. Καίτοι γε πρὸς φυσικὴν πάθους ἀνάγκην

ἀντιβῆναι, παγχάλεπόν ἐστιν. "Οταν δ' ἄνθρωπος
 ἢ χρημάτων ἐνεκεν πλεονεξίας, ἢ φθόνῳ πολιτικῆς
 δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, ἢ δι' ἡδονὴν τινα συνουσίας
 ἄνομον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος καὶ δεινὸν, εἴτα τοῦ πα-
 5 θους ἀφιεῖς τὸ διψῶδες καὶ μανικὸν, ἐν χρόνῳ καθορᾷ
 τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ἀδικίας πάλη παραμέ-
 νοντα, χρήσιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδ' ἀναγκαῖον μηδ' ὄνη-
 σιφόρον, ἄρ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐμπίπτειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις
 λογισμὸν, ὡς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἢ δι' ἡδονὴν ἀνελεύθε-
 10 ρον καὶ ἀχάριστον, ἀνατρέψας τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ
 μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δικαίων, ἐμπέπληκεν
 αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ταραχῇ τὸν βίον; "Ωσπερ γὰρ ὁ
 Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε παίζων, τὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου κιβωτὸν
 εὕρισκειν αἰεὶ πλήρη, τὴν δὲ τῶν χαρίτων κενὴν,
 15 οὕτως οἱ πονηροὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διορῶντες, δι'
 ἡδονῆς μὲν εὖθὺς κενὴν χάριν ἐχούσης, ἐλπίδος ἔρη-
 μον εὕρισκousι, φόβων δὲ καὶ λυπῶν καὶ μνήμης
 ἄτερπούς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑποψίας, ἀπιστίας δὲ
 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ γέμουσαν. "Ωσπερ τῆς Ἰουῦς ἐν
 20 τοῖς θεάτροις λεγούσης ἀκούομεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε
 μεταμελομένης,

Φίλοι γυναῖκες, πῶς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόμους

Ἄδάμαντος οἰκήσαιμι, τῶν πεπραγμένων

Δράσασα μηδέν;

25 ταῦτα ἐκάστου τῶν πονηρῶν εἰκὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνα-
 πολεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἐκβῶσα

τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀδικημάτων, καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐξ
 ἑαυτῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα, καὶ καθαρὰ γενομένη, βίον ἄλλον
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς βιώσειεν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι θάρραλέον, οὐδ'
 ἄτυφον, οὐδὲ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον ἐν οἷς προαιρεῖται
 τὸ πονηρὸν· εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία σοφούς τινας εἶναι φήσο- 5
 μεν τοὺς ἀδικούντας· ἀλλ' ὅπου φιλοπλουτία καὶ
 φιληδονία περιμάχητος καὶ φθόνος ἄκρατος ἐνοικί-
 ζεται μετὰ δυσμενείας ἢ κακοηθείας, ἐνταῦθα καὶ
 δεισιδαιμονίαν σκοπῶν ἂν εὖρης ὑποκαθιμένην, καὶ
 μαλακίαν πρὸς πόνον, καὶ δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον, καὶ 10
 μετάπτωσιν ὀξείαν ὁρμῶν, καὶ χαννότητα πρὸς δόξαν
 ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας· καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας φοβοῦνται, καὶ
 τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας δέδλασι, ὡς ἀδικουμένους τῇ ἀπάτῃ,
 καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κακοῖς πολεμοῦντας, ὅτι τοὺς δο-
 κοῦντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι προθύμως. Τὸ γὰρ 15
 σκληρὸν ἐν κακίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐν φαύλῳ σιδήρῳ, σα-
 θρὸν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον εὐθραυστον. "Ὅθεν ἐν
 χρόνῳ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὥς ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς καταμαν-
 θάνοντες, ἄχθονται καὶ δυσκολαίνουσι, καὶ προβάλ-
 λονται τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου παρακατα- 20
 θήκην μὲν ἀποδοὺς, καὶ γνώριμον ἐγγυησάμενος, καὶ
 πατρίδι μετὰ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπιδοὺς καὶ
 συνεισενεγκῶν ὁ φαῦλος, εὐθύς ἐστίν ἐν μεταμελείᾳ,
 καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνιᾶται, διὰ τὸ πάντῃ εὐμε-
 τάπτωτον αὐτοῦ καὶ πλανώμενον τῆς γνώμης· καὶ 25
 κροτούμενοί τινες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, εὐθύς στένουσιν,
 ὑπονοστούσης τῆς φιλοδοξίας εἰς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν·

- οἱ δὲ καταθύνοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τυραννίσι καὶ
 συνωμοσίαις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ χρήματα φίλων
 ἀποστεροῦντές, ὡς Γλαῦκος ὁ Ἐπικύδους, οὐ μετε-
 νόουν οὐδ' ἐμίσουν ἑαυτοὺς, οὐδ' ἡνιῶντο τοῖς γεγενη-
 5 μένοις. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, εἰ θέμις ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε
 τινὸς θεῶν οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων δεῖσθαι κολαστοῦ νομίζω
 τοὺς ἀνοσιουργοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον αὐτῶν ἐξαρκεῖν
 ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας διεφθαρμένον ὅλον καὶ συντεταραγ-
 μένον.
- 10 XII. Ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖτε τὸν λόγον, ἔφη, μὴ τοῦ
 • καιροῦ πορρώτέρω πρόεισι. Καὶ ὁ Τίμων, Τυχὸν,
 ἔφη, πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτῷ μῆκος·
 ἤδη γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔφεδρον ἀνιστημι τὴν τελευταίαν
 ἀπορίαν, ἐπεὶ ταῖς πρώταις διηγώνισται μετρίως.
- 15 Ἀ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης ἐγκαλεῖ καὶ παρῤῥησιάζεται πρὸς
 τοὺς θεοὺς, τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματα εἰς τοὺς
 ἐγγόνους τρέποντας, αἰτιᾶσθαι νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς σιω-
 πῶντας ἡμῶν. Εἴτε γὰρ οἱ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ δίκην
 ἔδοσαν, οὐδὲν ἐτὶ δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας,
- 20 ὅπου δις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τοὺς δράσαντας δί-
 καιον· εἴτε ῥαθυμῶς καταπροέμενοι τὴν τιμωρίαν
 ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὅψε παρὰ τῶν ἀναιτίων εἰσπράτ-
 τουσιν, οὐκ εὖ τῷ ἀδίκῳ τὸ βραδέως ἀναλαμβάνου-
 σιν. Οἷον ἐνταῦθα δήπουθεν λέγεται ἐλθεῖν Αἴσω-
- 25 πον, ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσίον, ὅπως τε θύσῃται
 τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ Δελφῶν ἐκάστω διανεῖμῃ
 μνᾶς τέσσαρας· ὀργῆς δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ δια-

φορᾶς αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν
 θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς
 Σάρδεις, ὥς οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων ὠφεληθῆναι τῶν ἀν-
 θρώπων· οἱ δὲ συνθύντες αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱεροσυ-
 λίας ἀπέκτειναν, ὥσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἦν 5
 'Τάμπειαν καλοῦσιν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λέγεται μνη-
 σαι τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς, ἀφορίαν τε γῆς ἐπαγαγεῖν, καὶ
 νόσων ἀτόπων ἰδέαν πᾶσαν· ὥστε περιιόντας ἐν ταῖς
 Ἑλληνικαῖς πανηγύρεσι κηρύσσειν καὶ καλεῖν αἰεὶ
 τὸν βουλόμενον ὑπὲρ Αἰσώπου δίκην λαβεῖν παρ' 10
 αὐτῶν. Τρίτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ Σάμιος Ἰδμων ἀφίκετο,
 γένει μὲν οὐδὲν Αἰσώπῳ προσήκων, ἀπόγονος δὲ τῶν
 πριαμένων αὐτὸν ἐν Σάμῳ γεγονώς· καὶ τούτῳ τινὰς
 δίκας δόντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν.
 Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἱεροσύλων 15
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ναυπλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαμβέλας μετατεθῆναι.
 Καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ φιλοῦντες, ὧν
 ἐσμὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπαινοῦσι, τὸ Βραγχιδῶν ἄστρῳ συγ-
 χέαντα, καὶ διαφθεύραντα πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, διὰ τὴν
 γενομένην τοῦ περὶ Μίλητον ἱεροῦ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ 20
 τῶν προπάππων αὐτῶν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Συρακου-
 σίων τύραννος, καὶ σὺν γέλωτι χλευάζων Κερκυ-
 راίους ἐρωτῶντας, διὰ τί πορβοίη τὴν νῆσον αὐτῶν·
 Ὅτι νῆ Δία, εἶπεν, οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὑπεδέξαντο τὸν
 Ὀδυσσεᾶ. Καὶ τῶν Ἰθακησίων ὁμοίως ἐγκαλοῦν 25
 των, ὅτι πρόβατα λαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται· Ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος, ἔφη, βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς

ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεξετύφλωσεν. Ἄρ' οὖν
 οὐκ ἀτοπώτερος τούτων ὁ Ἀπόλλων, εἰ Φερεάτας
 ἀπόλλυσί τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον καὶ κατα-
 κλύσας τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸ χιλίων
 5 ἐτῶν, ὥς φασιν, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνασπάσας τὸν τρίποδα
 τὸν μαντικὸν εἰς Φερεὸν ἀπήνεγκε; Συβαρίταις δὲ
 φράζων ἀπόλλυσιν τῶν κακῶν ὅταν τρισὶν ὀλέθροις
 ἰλάσωνται τὸ μήνιμα τῆς Λευκαδίας Ἡρας; Καὶ
 μὴν οὐ πολὺς χρόνος, ἀφ' οὗ Δοκροὶ πέμποντες εἰς
 10 Τροίαν πέπαννται τὰς παρθένους,

Αἱ καὶ ἀναπέχονοι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν, ἤτε δοῦλαι,

Ἡοῖαι σάφρεσκον Ἀθηναίης περὶ βωμῶν,

Νόσφι κρηδέμνοιο, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ γῆρας ἱκάνοι,

διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀκολασίαν. Ποῦ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ εὐλο-
 15 γον ἴσχει καὶ δίκαιον; Οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρᾶκας ἐπαινοῦ-
 μεν ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν, τιμωροῦντες τῷ Ὀρφεῖ,
 τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας· οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡριδανὸν βαρ-
 βάρους, μελανοφοροῦντας ἐπὶ πένθει τοῦ Φαέδοντος,
 ὥσπερ λέγουσιν. Ἔτι δ' ἂν, οἶμαι, γελοιότερον ἦν,
 20 εἰ, τῶν τότ' ἀνθρώπων ὅτε διεφθάρη Φαέδων, παρα-
 μελησάντων, οἱ πέντε γενεαῖς ἢ δέκα τοῦ πάθους
 ὕστερον γεγονότες ἤρξαντο τὴν ἐσθῆτα μεταβάλλειν
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πένθειν. Καίτοι τοῦτο ἀβελτηρίαν
 μὲν ἔχει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν οὐδ' ἀνῆκεστον· αἱ
 25 δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὀργαὶ τίνι λόγῳ παραχρῆμα δυόμεναι,
 καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ποταμῶν, εἴτα ὕστερον ἐπ' ἄλ-

λους ἀναφερόμεναι, πρὸς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς ἀποτε-
 λευτῶσιν ;

XIII. Ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἐπέσχε, δέσας ἐγὼ μὴ
 πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπαγάγη πλείονας καὶ μείζονας
 ἀτοπίας, εὐθὺς ἠρόμην αὐτόν· Εἶεν, ἔφην, ταῦτα 5
 γὰρ πάντα ἀληθινὰ ἡγῇ ; Κἀκεῖνος, Εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα,
 εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἔνια, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχειν οὐ νομί-
 ζεις τὸν λόγον ; Ἴσως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα
 πυρέττουσιν ἐάν τε ἐν ἱμάτιον, ἐάν τε πολλὰ περι-
 βεβλημένοι τυγχάνωσιν, ταῦτ' οὐ καὶ παρὰ 10
 πλήσιον, ὅμως δὲ δεῖ εἰς παραμυθίαν ἀφελεῖν τὸ
 πλήθος· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, τοῦτο μὲν ἔασον· καίτοι
 τὰ πλείστα μύθοις ἔοικε καὶ πλάσμασιν· ἀναμνήσ-
 θητι δὲ τῶν ἑναγχοῦ, τῶν θεοξενίων, καὶ τῆς καλῆς
 ἐκείνης μερίδος, ἣν ἀφαιροῦντες, τοὺς Πινδάρου κη- 15
 ρύττουσι λαμβάνειν ἀπογόνους, ὥς σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα
 σεμνὸν ἐφάνη καὶ ἡδύ. Τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν, εἶπεν, ἡσθεῖη
 τῇ χάριτι τῆς τιμῆς, οὕτως Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς
 ἀρχαῖζούσης ; εἰ μὴ μέλαιναν καρδίαν κεχάλκευται
 ψυχρὰ φλογί, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Πίνδαρον. Ἐὼ τοίνυν, 20
 ἔφην, ὅμοιον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κήρυγμα τούτῳ, τὸ Μετὰ
 Λέσβιον ᾠδόν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ μνήμῃ Τερπάνδρου τοῦ
 παλαιοῦ κηρυττόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος. Ἀλλ'
 ὑμεῖς γε δήπου πλέον ἔχειν ἐτέρων ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς
 Ὀφελτιάδαι γένος ὄντες ἀξιούτε, καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῦσι, 25
 διὰ Δαίφαντον· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ παρῆτε καὶ σύνελαμ-
 βάνεσθε πρῶτον, ὅτε Λυκορμαίοις καὶ Σατιλαίοις τὴν

- πάτριον Ἑρακλειδῶν μετιούσι τιμὴν καὶ στεφανη-
 φορίαν συνανασώζων, ἔλεγον ὅτι δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς
 ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους γεγονόσι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπάρχειν βε-
 βαίους καὶ τὰς χάριτας, ὧν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργετή-
 5 σας οὐκ ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἀξίας χάριτος οὐδ' ἀμοιβῆς.
 Καλοῦ γε, εἶπεν, ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνος καὶ φιλοσοφία πρέ-
 ποντος μάλα ἀνέμνησας. Ἄφες οὖν, εἶπον, ὦ τᾶν,
 τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦτο τῆς κατηγορίας, καὶ μὴ φέρε πικρῶς,
 εἰ κολάζονται τινες ἐκ κακῶν γεγονότες ἢ ποιηρῶν,
 10 ἢ μὴ χαῖρε μὴδ' ἐπαίνει τιμωμένης εὐγενείας. Δεῖ
 γὰρ, εἰ τὴν χάριν ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνασώζομεν,
 εὐλόγως μὴδὲ τὴν κόλασιν οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἀπαυδᾶν καὶ
 προαπολείπειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ἀλλὰ συνεκτρέχειν
 ἐκείνη τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιστρόφως ἀποδιδούσῃ. Ὁ
 15 δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κίμωνος ἡδέως ὀρών Ἀθήνησι τιμω-
 μένους, τῶν δὲ Λαχάρους ἢ Ἀρίστωνος ἐκγόνων
 ἐλαττωμένων, ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀγανακτῶν, ὑγρὸς ἐστι
 λίαν καὶ ῥάθυμος, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλαίτιος ὅλως καὶ
 δύσκολος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ἐγκαλῶν μὲν, ἂν ἀνδρὸς
 20 ἀδίκου καὶ ποιηροῦ παῖδες ἐκ παίδων εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶ-
 σιν, ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πάλιν, ἂν τὰ γένη κολούηται καὶ
 ἀφανίζηται τῶν φαύλων· αἰτιώμενος δὲ τὸν θεόν,
 ὁμοίως μὲν ἂν χρηστοῦ πατρὸς τέκνα πράττη κακῶς,
 ὁμοίως δὲ ἂν ποιηροῦ.
- 25 XIV. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφην, ὥσπερ ἀντιφράγι-
 ματά σοι κείσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πικροὺς καὶ κατη-
 γορικοὺς ἐκείνους. Ἀναλαμβάντες δ' αὖθις ὥσπερ

ἀρχὴν κλωστήρης, ἐν σκοτεινῷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλυγμοὺς
 καὶ πλάνας ἔχοντι τῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, καθοδη-
 γώμεν αὐτοὺς μετ' εὐλαβείας ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς
 καὶ πιθανόν· ὥς τόγε σαφὲς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδ'
 ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ πράττομεν, ἀσφαλῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν. 5
 ὅλον, διὰ τί τῶν ὑπὸ φθίσεως ἢ ὑδέρου διαφθαρέντων
 τοὺς παῖδας εἰς ὕδωρ τὸ πύδε βρέχοντας καλῶνται
 κελεύομεν, ἕως ἂν ὁ νεκρὸς κατακαῇ· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτω
 τὸ νοσήμα μὴ μεθίστασθαι, μηδὲ προσπελάζειν
 αὐτοῖς· ἢ πάλιν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, αἰγὸς τὸν ἡρυγγίτην 10
 λαβούσης εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὅλον ἐφίσταται τὸ αἰπόλιον,
 ἄχρις ἂν ἐξέλῃ προσελθὼν ὁ αἰπόλος. Ἄλλαι τε
 δυνάμεις ἀφὰς ἔχουσιν καὶ διαδόσεις ἀπίστους ὀξύ-
 τησι καὶ μήκεσι δι' ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα περαίνουσιν.
 Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους διαλείμματα θαν- 15
 μάζομεν, οὐ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους. Καίτοι θανμα-
 σιώτερον, εἰ πάδους ἐν Αἰθιοπία λαβόντος ἀρχὴν,
 ἀνεπλήσθησαν αἱ Ἀθῆναι, καὶ Περικλῆς ἀπέθανε,
 καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐνόσησεν, ἢ εἰ Δελφῶν καὶ Συβαρι-
 τῶν γενομένων πονηρῶν, ἢ δίκη φερομένη περιῆλθεν 20
 εἰς τοὺς παῖδας. Ἐχουσι γὰρ τινες αἱ δυνάμεις
 ἀναφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ συνά-
 ψεις· ὧν ἡ αἰτία, καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀγνοῖται, σιωπῇ
 περαίνει τὸ οἰκεῖον.

XV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε τὰ δημόσια τῶν πόλεων 25
 μηνίματα τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ἔχει πρόχειρον.
 Ἐν γάρ τι πρᾶγμα καὶ συνεχὲς ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ ζῶον

- οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον αὐτῆς ταῖς καδ' ἡλικίαν μεταβολαῖς,
οὐδ' ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου τῷ χρόνῳ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ
συμπαθές αἰεὶ καὶ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσαν ὧν πράτ-
τει κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ ἔπραξεν αἰτίαν καὶ χάριν ἀνα-
5 δεχόμενον, μέχρις ἂν ἡ ποιούσα καὶ συνδέουσα ταῖς
ἐπιπλοκαῖς κοινωνία τὴν ἐνότητα διαφυλάττη. Τὸ
δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις διαιροῦντα τῷ χρόνῳ ποιεῖν, μάλ-
λον δ' ἀπείρους, ὁμοῖον ἐστὶ τῷ πολλοὺς τὸν ἕνα
ποιεῖν ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι νῦν πρεσβύτερός ἐστι, πρό-
10 τερον δὲ νεώτερος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ μειράκιον ἦν. Μάλ-
λον δὲ ὅλως ταῦτά γε τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις ἔοικεν, ἐξ
ὧν ὁ αὐξόμενος ἀνέφυ τοῖς σοφισταῖς λόγος · ὁ γὰρ
λαβὼν πάλαι τὸ χρέος, νῦν οὐκ ὀφείλει γεγωνὸς
ἕτερος · ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐχθρὸς, ἀκλητος
15 ἦκει τήμερον · ἄλλος γὰρ ἐστὶ. Καίτοι μείζονάς
γε παραλλαγὰς αἱ ἡλικίαι περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιού-
σιν, ἢ κοινῇ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. Γνῶνι γὰρ ἂν τις
ιδὼν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔτει τριακοστῷ · καὶ τὰ νῦν ἦδη,
καὶ κινήματα, παιδιαί τε καὶ σπουδαὶ καὶ χάριτες
20 καὶ ὄργανα τοῦ δήμου πάνυ γε τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰκότασι ·
ἄνθρωπον δὲ μόλις ἂν τις οἰκεῖος ἢ φίλος ἐντυχὼν
διὰ χρόνου μορφήν γνωρίσειεν · αἱ δὲ τῶν ἡθῶν με-
ταβολαὶ παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πόνῳ καὶ πάθει καὶ νόμῳ
ῥαδίως τρεπόμεναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰεὶ συνόντα τὴν
25 ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὴν καινότητα θαυμαστὴν ἔχουσιν.
'Ἄλλ' ἄνθρωπός τε λέγεται μέχρι τέλους εἰς ἀπὸ
γενέσεως · πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτὴν ὥσαυτως διαμένουσιν

ἐνέχεσθαι τοῖς ὀνειδέσι τῶν προγόνων ἀξιούμεν, ᾧ
δικαίῳ μέτεστιν αὐτῇ δόξης τε τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ δυνά-
μεως· ἢ λήσομεν εἰς τὸν Ἑρακλείτειον ἅπαντα
πράγματα ποταμὸν ἐμβαλόντες, εἰς ὃν οὐ φησι δις
ἐμβῆναι, τῷ πάντα κινεῖν καὶ ἑτεροιοῦν τὴν φύσιν 5
μεταβάλλονσαν.

XVI. Εἰ δ' ἔστι τι πόλις ἐν πᾶν γὰρ καὶ συνεχές,
ἔστι δῆπου καὶ γένος ἐξηρημένον ἀρχῆς μιᾶς, καὶ
δυνάμιν τινα καὶ κοινωνίαν διαπεφυκυῖαν ἀναφερού-
σης· καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν οὐχ ὥς τι δημιούργημα πε- 10
ποιημένον ἀπήλλακται τοῦ γεννήσαντος· ἐξ αὐτοῦ
γὰρ, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, ὥστ' ἔχει τι καὶ φέρεται
τῶν ἐκείνου μέρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ κολαζόμενον προση-
κόντως καὶ τιμώμενον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ δόξαιμι παίζειν
ἐγὼ, φαίην ἂν ἀνδριάντα Κασάνδρου καταχαλκευό- 15
μενον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πάσχειν ἀδικώτερα, καὶ τὸ
Διονυσίου σῶμα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξοριζόμενον
ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων, ἢ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν δίκην τίνον-
τας. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριάντι τῆς Κασάνδρου φύσεως
οὐθέν ἐστι, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἢ Διονυσίου ψυχὴ προ- 20
λέλοιπε· Νυσαίῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλοκράτει καὶ Ἀντι-
πάτρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως παισὶ
τῶν πονηρῶν τὸ κυριώτατον ἐμπέφυκε καὶ πάρεστι
μέρος, οὐχ ἡσυχαῖον οὐδ' ἄργον, ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ
καὶ τρέφονται, καὶ διοικούνται καὶ φρονοῦσι· καὶ 25
οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτοπον ἂν ἐκείνων ὄντες ἔχωσι τὰ
ἐκείνων. Καθόλου δὲ, εἶπον, ὥσπερ ἐν ἰατρικῇ τὸ

χρήσιμον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι, καὶ γελοῖος ὁ φάσκων ἄδικον εἶναι, τῶν ἰσχύων πονούντων, καίειν τὸν ἀντίχειρα· καὶ τοῦ ἥπατος ὑπούλου γεγονότος, ἀμύσσειν τὸ ἐπιγαστριον, καὶ τῶν βοῶν, ἂν εἰς τὰς χηλὰς μαλακιῶσι, 5 προσαλείφειν τὰ ἄκρα τῶν κεράτων· οὕτως ὁ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις ἄλλο τι δίκαιον ἢ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὴν κακίαν ἡγούμενος, καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἕαν τις δι' ἐτέρων ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἀναφέρῃ τὴν ἰατροίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὴν φλέβα διαιροῦντες, ἵνα τὴν ὀφθαλμίαν κουφίσωσιν, οὐδὲν 10 ἔοικε περαιτέρω τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐφορᾶν· οὐδὲ μνημονεύει ὅτι καὶ διδάσκαλος παιδῶν ἐνὸς καδικόμενος ἐτέρους ἐνουθέτησε, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐκ δεκάδος ἀνελὼν ἕνα πάντας ἀνέστρεψε. Καὶ οὕτως οὐ μέρει διὰ μέρους ἐτέρου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῇ διὰ ψυχῆς γίνονται 15 τινες διαθέσεις καὶ κακώσεις καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις, μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι διὰ σώματος. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖ πάθος ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μεταβολήν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἡ ψυχὴ ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀγομένη, κατὰ τὸ θάρρειν καὶ δεδιέναι χεῖρον ἢ βέλτιον 20 διαγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

XVII. Ἔτι δέ μου λέγοντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικός, Ἔοικας, ἔφη, τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην ὑπόθεσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. Καὶ ὑμῶν γε, εἶπον ἐγὼ, διδόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ δεδοκότων· ὡς 25 γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν νέμοντος, ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐξαρχῆς δεῦρο προελήλυθε. Κάκεινος, Εἴτα δέ, ἔφη, νομίζεις ἔπεσθαι τῷ τοῖς Θεοῦς ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ νέμειν

ἕκαστα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπάρχειν ἢ
 πάμπαν ἀφθάρτους, ἢ χρόνον τιᾶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν
 ἐπιμενούσας ; Οὐκ, ὦ γὰρ, εἶπον, ἀλλὰ μικρὸς οὕτω
 καὶ κενόσπουδος ὁ θεὸς ἐστίν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῶν ἐχόν-
 των θεῖον ἐν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ προσόμοιον ἀμωσγέπως δ
 ἐκείνῳ, καὶ διαρκὲς καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ φύλλοις, ὡς
 Ὁμηρος ἔφη, παραπλησίως ἀπομαραινόμενων παν-
 τάπασι, καὶ φθινόντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ποιεῖσθαι λόγον
 τοσοῦτον, ὥσπερ αἱ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ἐπ' ὅστρά-
 κοις τισὶ τιθηνούμεναι καὶ θεραπεύουσαι γυναῖκες, 10
 ἐφημέρους ψυχὰς ἐν σαρκὶ τρυφερὰ καὶ βίου ρίζαν
 ἰσχυρὰν οὐ δεχομένη βλαστανούσας, εἴτα ἀποσβεν-
 νυμένας εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως. Εἰ δὲ
 βούλει, τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἑάσας, σκόπει τουτοῦ τὸν
 ἐνταυθοῖ τὸν ἡμέτερον, εἰ σοι δοκεῖ, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν 15
 τελευτώντων ἀπολλυμένας ἐπιστάμενος εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ
 ὁμίχλας ἢ καπνοὺς, ἀποπνεούσας τῶν σωμάτων,
 ἰλασμούς τε πολλοὺς προσφέρειν τῶν κατοικομένων,
 καὶ γέρα μεγάλα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπαιτεῖν τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν,
 ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων τοὺς πιστεύοντας. Ἐγὼ 20
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προείμην τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν διαμονήν,
 εἰ μὴ τις, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ὑφελὼν τὸν τρίποδα
 τῆς Πυθίας, ἀναιρήσῃ καὶ διαφθεῖρῃ τὸ χρηστήριον.
 Ἄχρι δὲ τοῦ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα προθεσπίζεσθαι καὶ
 καθ' ἡμᾶς, οἷα καὶ Κόρακι τῷ Ναξίῳ χρησθῆναι 25
 λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὅσιόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καταγνώναι
 θάνατον. Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, Τί δ' ἦν, ἔφη, τὸ

χρησθὲν, ἢ τίς ὁ Κόραξ οὗτος; ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ
 πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ξένον. Οὐδαμῶς, εἶπον, ἀλλ'
 αἴτιος ἐγὼ, παρωνύμφῳ χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόμα-
 5 τος. Ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον
 ἐκαλεῖτο Καλώνδης, ὡς ἔοικεν· ἦν δ' αὐτῷ Κόραξ
 ἐπωνύμιον. Ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς
 Πυθίας, ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνθηρῶς, εἴτα
 χρησάμενος λιταῖς τισι καὶ προτροπαῖς μετὰ δικαιο-
 λογίας, ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττυγος
 10 οἴκησιν, ἰλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ψυχὴν·
 τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁ Ταίναρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ φασιν ἐλθόντα
 μετὰ στόλου Τέττυγα τὸν Κρήτα, πόλιν κτίσαι, καὶ
 κατοικῆσαι παρὰ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ
 Σπαρτιάταις χρησθὲν ἰλάσασθαι τὴν Πανσανίου
 15 ψυχὴν, ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντες οἱ ψυχαγωγοί,
 καὶ θύσαντες, ἀπεσπᾶσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἶδωλον.

XVIII. Εἰς οὖν ἐστιν, ἔφην, λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν
 πρόνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
 ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν· καὶ θάτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπολιπεῖν,
 20 ἀναιροῦντα θάτερον. Οὕσῃ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ τὴν
 τελευτὴν μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι
 καὶ τιμωρίας. Ἀγωνίζεται γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς κατὰ
 τὸν βίον· ὅταν δὲ διαγωνίσῃται, τότε τυγχάνει τῶν
 προσηκόντων. Ἀλλὰ ἅς μὲν ἐκεῖ καδ' αὐτὴν οὖσα
 25 κομίζεται τῶν προβεβιωμένων χάριτας ἢ τινὰς κο-
 λάσεις, οὐθέν εἰσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ζῶντας, ἀλλ'
 ἀπιστοῦνται καὶ λανθάνουσιν· αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν παιδων

ἰοῦσαι καὶ διὰ γένους, ἐμφανεῖς τοῖς δεῦρο γενόμεναι,
 πολλοὺς ἀποτρέπουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι τῶν πο-
 νηρῶν. Ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐστὶν αἰσχίων οὐδὲ λυπούσα
 μᾶλλον ἐτέρα κόλασις, ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσ-
 χοντας δι' αὐτοὺς ὀρᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ψυχὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀσε- 5
 βοῦς καὶ παρανόμου μετὰ θάνατον ἐφορῶσαν οὐκ ἀν-
 δριάντας οὐδὲ τιμὰς τινὰς ἀνατρεπομένας, ἀλλὰ
 παῖδας ἢ φίλους ἢ γένος οἰκείον αὐτῆς ἀτυχήμασι
 χρωμένους μεγάλους δι' αὐτὴν, καὶ δίκην τίνοντας,
 οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀγαπήσειεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Διὸς τιμαῖς, 10
 ἄδικον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκόλαστον. Ἐχῶ μὲν τινα καὶ
 λόγον εἰπεῖν, ἔναγχος ἀκηκοὺς, ὁκνῶ δέ, μὴ φανῇ
 μῦθος ὑμῖν· μόνῳ οὖν χρώμαι τῷ εἰκότι. Μηδαμῶς,
 εἶπεν ὁ Ὀλυμπικός, ἀλλὰ διέλθε κάκεινον. Τὰ δ'
 αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, Ἐάσατε, εἶπον, ἀπο- 15
 δοῦναί με τῷ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκός· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν μῦθον,
 ἐὰν δόξῃ, κινήσωμεν, εἴ γε δὴ μῦθος ἐστίν.

XIX. Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν θεὸν κολλάζοντα τοὺς
 παῖδας τῶν πονηρῶν γελοιότερον εἶναι φησιν ἱατροῦ,
 διὰ νόσον πάππου καὶ πατρὸς, ἐκγονον ἢ παῖδα φαρ- 20
 μακεύοντος. Ἔστι δὲ πῇ μὲν ἀνόμοια τὰ πράγ-
 ματα, πῇ δ' εἰκότα καὶ ὅμοια. Νόσου μὲν γὰρ ἄλ-
 λος ἄλλον οὐ παύει θεραπευόμενος, οὐδὲ βέλτιόν τις
 ἔσχε τῶν ὀφθαλμιῶντων, ἢ πυρεττόντων, ἰδὼν ἄλλον
 ὑπαλειφόμενον ἢ καταπλαττόμενον· αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι 25
 τῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τοῦτο δείκνυνται πᾶσιν, ὅτι δίκης
 κατὰ λόγον περαινομένης ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐτέρους δι'

ἑτέρων κολαζομένων ἐπισχεῖν. Ἡ δὲ προσέεικε τῷ
 ζητουμένῳ τὸ παραβαλλόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βίωνος,
 ἔλαθεν αὐτόν· ἥδη γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εἰς νόσημα μοχθηρὸν
 οὐ μὴν ἀνίατον ἐμπεσόντος, εἴτ' ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ μα-
 5 λακίᾳ προεμένου τῷ πάθει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθαρέν-
 τος, υἱὸν οὐ δοκοῦντα νοσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπιτηδείως
 ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον ἰατρὸς ἢ οἰκεῖος ἢ
 ἀλείπτῃς καταμαθὼν, ἢ δεσπότης χρηστὸς, ἐμβάλων
 εἰς δλαιταν αὐστηρὰν, καὶ ἀφελὼν ὄψα καὶ πέμματα
 10 καὶ πότους καὶ γύναια, φαρμακείαις δὲ χρησάμενος
 ἐνδελεχέσι, καὶ διαπονήσας τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις,
 ἐσκέδασε καὶ ἀπέπεμψε, μεγάλου πάθους σπέρμα
 μικρὸν οὐκ ἑάσας εἰς μέγεθος προελθεῖν. Ἡ γὰρ
 οὐχ οὕτω παρακελευόμεθα, προσέχειν ἀξιούντες
 15 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παραφυλάττεσθαι, καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν,
 ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἐκ πατέρων ἢ μητέρων νοσηματι-
 κῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξωθεῖν τὴν ἐγκεκραμένην ἀρχὴν
 εὐκίνητον οὖσαν καὶ ἀκροσφαλῇ προκαταλαμβάνου-
 τας; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. Οὐ τοίνυν ἄτοπον,
 20 εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον, οὐδὲ γελοῖον, ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμον
 πρᾶγμα ποιούμεεν, ἐπιληπτικῶν παισὶ καὶ μελαγχολι-
 κῶν καὶ ποδαγρικῶν γυμνάσια καὶ διαίτας καὶ φάρ-
 μακα προσάγοντες, οὐ νοσοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ
 νοσῆσαι. Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πονηροῦ σώματος γινόμενον
 25 σῶμα τιμωρίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, ἰατρείας δὲ καὶ φυλακῆς
 ἀξιὸν ἐστίν· ἦν εἴ τις, ὅτι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖ, καὶ
 δηγμὸν ἐπάγει καὶ πόνον, τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ

μαλακίας ἀποκαλεῖ, χαίρειν ἐατέον. Ἄρ' οὖν σῶμα
 μὲν ἔκγονον φαύλου σώματος ἄξιόν ἐστι θεραπεύειν
 καὶ φυλάττειν, κακίας δὲ ὁμοιότητα συγγενικὴν ἐν
 νέφῃ βλαστάνουσαν ἦρδει καὶ ἀναφυομένην ἐᾶν δεῖ,
 καὶ περιμένειν καὶ μέλλειν, ἄχρις ἂν ἐκχυθεῖσα τοῖς 5
 πάθεσιν ἐμφανῆς γένηται—κακόφρονά τ' ἀμφάνη
 πρᾶπίδων καρπὸν,—ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος ;

XX. Ἡ κατὰ τοῦτ' μὲν ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἡσιό-
 δου σοφώτερος ; διακελευομένου καὶ παρεγγυῶν-
 τος, 10

Μηδ' ἀπὸ δυστήνοιο τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
 Σπερμαίνειν γενεὴν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτὸς,

ὥς οὐ κακίαν μόνον οὐδ' ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύπην καὶ
 χαρὰν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀναδεχομένης τῆς γενέσεως,
 ἱλαροὺς καὶ ἡδέεις καὶ διακεχυμένους ἄγειν πρὸς τὴν 15
 τέκνωσιν. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἔστι καθ' Ἡσιόδου, οὐδ'
 ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργου σοφίας, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ, τὸ διορᾶν καὶ
 διαισθάνεσθαι τὰς ὁμοιοπαθείας καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς,
 πρὶν, εἰς μεγάλα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμπεσούσας ἀδική-
 ματα, γενέσθαι καταφανεῖς. Ἀρκτων μὲν γὰρ ἔτι 20
 νῆπια, καὶ λύκων τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων, εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνει
 τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπαμπεχόμενον μηδὲ
 καταπλαττόμενον· ἡ δ' ἀνθρώπου φύσις, εἰς ἔθνη καὶ
 δόγματα καὶ νόμους ἑαυτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσα, κρύπτει τὰ
 φαῦλα, καὶ τὰ καλὰ μιμείται πολλάκις, ὥστ' ἡ παν- 25
 τάπασιν ἐξαλείψαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἐγγενῇ κηλίδι τῆς

- κακίας, ἥ διαλαθεῖν πολλὸν χρόνον, οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι
 ἐαυτῇ τὴν πανουργίαν περιβαλοῦσαν, διαλαθεῖν δὲ
 ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δήγματος ἐκάστου
 τῶν ἀδικημάτων μόλις αἰσθανομένους τῆς κακίας,
 5 μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως τότε γίνεσθαι νομίζοντας ἀδίκους,
 ὅτε ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀκολάστους, ὅτε ὑβρίζουσιν, καὶ ἀνάν-
 δρους, ὅτε φεύγουσιν· ὥσπερ εἴ τις οἶοιτο τοῖς σκορ-
 πίοις ἐμφύεσθαι τὸ κέντρον ὅτε τύπτουσιν, καὶ ταῖς
 ἐχίδναις τὸν ἰὸν, ὅτε δάκνουσιν· εὐήθως οἰόμενος.
- 10 Οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γίγνεται καὶ φαίνεται τῶν πονηρῶν
 ἕκαστος· ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν κακίαν, χρήται
 δὲ, καιροῦ καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιλαβόμενος, τῷ κλέπτειν
 ὁ κλέπτης, καὶ τῷ παρανομεῖν ὁ τυραννικὸς. Ἄλλ'
 ὁ θεὸς οὐτ' ἀγνοεῖ δήπου τὴν ἐκάστου διάθεσιν καὶ
 15 φύσιν, ἅτε δὴ ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ σώματος αἰσθάνεσ-
 θαι πεφυκώς, οὐτ' ἀναμένει τὴν βίαν ἐν χερσὶ γενο-
 μένην, καὶ τὴν ἀναλίδειαν ἐν φωνῇ, καὶ τὴν ἀκολα-
 σίαν ἐν αἰδοίοις κολάζειν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀμύνεται τὸν
 ἀδικήσαντα κακῶς παθῶν, οὐδ' ὀργίζεται τῷ ἀρπά-
 20 σαντι βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ μισεῖ τὸν μοιχὸν ὑβρισθεῖς, ἀλλ'
 ἱατρείας ἕνεκα τὸν μοιχικὸν καὶ πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ
 ἀδικητικὸν κολάζει πολλάκις, ὥσπερ ἐπιληψίαν, τὴν
 κακίαν, πρὶν ἢ καταλαβεῖν, ἀναιρῶν.

- XXI. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀρτίως μὲν ἡγανακτοῦμεν, ὥς
 25 ὅγῃ καὶ βραδέως τῶν πονηρῶν δίκην διδόντων· νῦν
 δὲ, ὅτι καὶ πρὶν ἀδικεῖν ἐνίοις τὴν ἔξιν αὐτῶν κολοῦει
 καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τοῦ

γενομένου πολλάκις τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον
τοῦ προδήλου, χεῖρόν ἐστι καὶ φοβερώτερον· οὐ
δυνάμενοι δὲ συλλογίζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἧς ἐνόους
μὲν καὶ ἀδικήσαντας ἔῃν βέλτιόν ἐστιν, ἐνόους δὲ καὶ
διανοουμένους προκαταλαμβάνειν· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει 5
καὶ φάρμακα ἐνόις μὲν οὐχ ἀρμόζει νοσοῦσιν, ἐνόις
δὲ λυσιτελεῖ καὶ μὴ νοσοῦσιν, ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκεί-
νων ἔχουσιν. "Ὅθεν οὐδὲ πάντα τὰ τῶν τεκόντων
σφάλματα εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους οἱ θεοὶ τρέπουσιν· ἀλλ'
ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ φαύλου γένηται χρηστός, ὥσπερ εὐεκτι- 10
κὸς ἐκ νοσώδους, ἀφεῖται τῆς τοῦ γένους ποιότητος,
ἐκποίητος τῆς κακίας γενόμενος. Νέφ δ' εἰς ὁμοιό-
τητα μοχθηροῦ γένους ἀναφερομένῳ προσήκει δό-
πουδεν, ὡς χρέα κληρονομίας, διαδέχεσθαι τῆς πονη-
ρίας τὴν κόλασιν. Οὐ γὰρ Ἀντίγονός γε διὰ Δημή- 15
τριον, οὐδὲ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων Φυλεὺς δι' Αὐγέα,
οὐδὲ Νέστωρ διὰ Νηλέα δίκας ἔδωκαν· ἐκ κακῶν
μὲν γὰρ, ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἦσαν· ἀλλ' ὅσων ἡ φύσις ἔστερξε
καὶ προσήκατο τὸ συγγενές, τούτων ἡ δίκη διώκουσα
τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς κακίας διεξῆλθεν. Ὡς γὰρ ἀκρο- 20
χορδόνες καὶ μελάσματα καὶ φακοὶ πατέρων ἐν
παισὶν ἀφανισθέντες, ἀνέκυψαν ὕστερον ἐν υἱωνοῖς
καὶ θυγατριδοῖς· καὶ γυνή τις Ἑλληνὶς τεκοῦσα
βρέφος μέλαν, εἴτα κρινομένη μοιχείας, ἐξανεύρεν
αὐτὴν Αἰθίοπος οὔσαν γενεὰν τετάρτην· τῶν δὲ 25
Πύθωνος τοῦ Νισίβεως παίδων, δὲ ἑναγχοῦς τέθνηκε,
λεγομένου τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς προσήκειν, ἐξανήνεγκε,

λόγῃς τύπον ἐν τῷ σώματι, διὰ χρόνων τοσού-
των ἀνασχούσης καὶ ἀναδύσης, ὥσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ,
τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ὁμοιότητος· οὕτω πολλάκις
ἦδη καὶ πάδη ψυχῆς αἱ πρῶται κρύπτουσι γενέ-
5 σεις καὶ καταδύουσιν· ὕστερον δέ ποτε καὶ δι' ἐτέ-
ρων ἐξήνθησε καὶ ἀπέδωκε τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰς κακίαν καὶ
ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσις.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησα, δια-
μειδιάσας ὁ Ὀλυμπικός, Οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμέν σε, εἶπεν,
10 ὅπως μὴ δόξωμεν ἀφιέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὥς τοῦ λόγου
πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ τότε δώσομεν
τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὅταν κἀκείνουν ἀκούσωμεν. Οὕτως
οὖν ἔφην, ὅτι Θεσπέσιος ὁ Σολεὺς ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου τοῦ
γενομένου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα Πρωτογένους οἰκείος
15 καὶ φίλος, ἐν πολλῇ βιώσας ἀκολασίᾳ τὸν πρῶτον
χρόνον, εἶτα ταχὺ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας, ἤδη χρόνον
τινὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο πονηρὸς, καὶ τὸν
πλοῦτον ἐκ μετανόας διώκων, ταῦτ' οἱ ἀκολάσ-
τοις ἔπασχε πάθος, οἳ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντες μὲν οὐ
20 φυλάττουσι, προέμενοι δὲ πειρώσιν αὐτῶν ἀδίκως
ἐτέροις συνούσας διαφθείρειν. Οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀπεχό-
μενος αἰσχροῦ φέροντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ κέρδος,
οὐσίαν μὲν οὐ πολλὴν, δόξαν δὲ πονηρίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ
πλείστην συνήγαγε. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν διέβαλεν
25 ἀνενεχθεῖσά τις ἐξ Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεία. Πέμψας
γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἡρώτα τὸν θεόν, εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται
τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον· ὁ δ' ἀνείλεν, ὅτι πράξει βέλ-

τιον, ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ. Καὶ δὴ τρόπον τινα τοῦτο
 μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτῷ συνέπεσε. Κατενεχθεὶς
 γὰρ ἐξ ὕψους τινὸς εἰς τράχηλον, οὐ γενομένου τραύ-
 ματος, ἀλλὰ πληγῆς μόνον, ἐξέθανε, καὶ τριταῖος
 ἤδη περὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήνεγκε. Ταχὺ δὲ ῥωσ- 5
 θεὶς καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ γενόμενος, ἄπιστόν τινα τοῦ βίου
 τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν. Οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια γινώσκουσιν ἕτερον Κίλικες ἐν
 τοῖς τότε χρόνοις γινόμενον, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁσιώ-
 τερον, οὔτε λυπηρότερον ἐχθροῖς, ἢ βεβαιότερον 10
 φίλοις· ὥστε καὶ ποθεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτοῦ
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς διαφορᾶς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυ-
 χόντος οἰομένους γεγόνεαι διακόσμησιν εἰς ἡθὺς
 τοσαύτην, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθὲς, ὥς αὐτὸς διηγείτο τῷ τε
 Πρωτογένει καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως ἐπιεικέσι τῶν φίλων. 15
 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε τὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος, οἷον ἄν-
 τις ἐκ πλοίου κυβερνήτης εἰς βυθὸν ἀπορῥιφεὶς πά-
 ροι τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσχεν·
 εἶτα μικρὸν ἐξαρθεὶς, ἔδοξεν ἀναπνεῖν ὅλος, καὶ πε-
 ριορᾶν πανταχόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ὄμματος ἀνοιχθείσης 20
 τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐώρα δὲ τῶν προτέρων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ
 τὰ ἄστρα παμμεγέθη καὶ ἀπέχοντα πλήθος ἀλλή-
 λων ἄπλετον, αὐγὴν τε τῇ χροιά θάυμαστὴν ἀφίεντα
 καὶ τόνον ἔχουσιν· ὥστε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐποχουμένην,
 λείως οἷον ὥσπερ ἐν γαλήνῃ τῷ φωτὶ ῥαδίως πάντῃ 25
 καὶ ταχὺ διαφέρεσθαι.

XXIII. Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν θεαμάτων παραλι-

- πών, ἔφη, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων κάτωθεν
 ἀνιούσας πομφόλυγα φλογοειδῇ ποιεῖν ἐξισταμένους
 τοῦ ἀέρος, εἴτα ῥηγνυμένης ἀτρέμα τῆς πομφόλυγος
 ἐκβαίνειν τύπον ἐχούσας ἀνθρωποειδῇ, τὸν δ' ὄγκον
 5 εὐσταλεῖς· κινουμένας δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν
 ἐκπηδᾶν ἐλαφρότητι θάυμαστῇ, καὶ διάττειν ἐπ'
 εὐθείας ἄνω, τὰς δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄτρακτοι, περιστρε-
 φομένας ἅμα κύκλῳ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κάτω, τοτὲ δ' ἄνω
 ῥεπούσας, μικτὴν τινα φέρεσθαι καὶ τεταραγμένην
 10 κίνησιν, καὶ πολλῶ πάνυ χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἀποκα-
 θισταμένην. Τὰς μὲν οὖν πολλὰς ἡγνῶει τίνες εἰσὶ,
 δύο δὲ ἡ τρεῖς ἰδὼν γνωρίμους ἐπειράτο προσμίξαι
 καὶ προσειπεῖν. Αἱ δ' οὔτε ἤκουον, οὔτ' ἦσαν παρ'
 ἑαυταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκφρονες καὶ διεπτοημένοι, πᾶσαν
 15 ὄψιν ἀποφεύγουσαι καὶ ψαῦσιν, ἐρρέμβοντο πρῶτον
 αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς, εἴτα πολλαῖς ὁμοίως διακειμέναις
 ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκομένοι, φορὰς τε πάσας
 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀκρίτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ φωνὰς ἔσαν ἀσή-
 μους, οἷον ἀλαλαγμοὺς, θρήνου καὶ φόβου μεμιγμένας.
 20 Ἄλλαι δ' ἄνωθεν ἐν ἅκρῳ τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὀφθῆναι
 τε φαιδραὶ, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπ' εὐμενείας θάμνα
 πελάζουσαι, τὰς δὲ θορυβώδεις ἐκείνας ἐκτρεπόμεναι,
 διεσῆμαινον, ὥς ἔοικεν, συστολῇ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὰς τὸ
 δυσχεραίνον, ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει τὸ χαῖρον
 25 καὶ προσιέμενον. Ἐνταῦθα μίαν, ἔφη, συγγενοῦς
 τινος ἰδεῖν, οὐ μέντοι σαφῶς, ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ ἔτι
 παιδὸς ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην προσανάγουσαν ἐγγύς,

εἰπεῖν, Χαῖρε, Θεσπέσιε. Θαυμάσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ φήσαντος, ὥς οὐ Θεσπέσιος, ἀλλ' Ἀριδαῖός ἐστι, Πρώτερόν γε, φάναι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε, Θεσπέσιος· οὐδὲ γάρ τοι τέθνηκας, ἀλλὰ μοῖρα τινὲ θεῶν ἦκεις δεῦρο τῷ φρονοῦντι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην ψυχὴν, ὥσπερ 5 ἀγκύριον, ἐν τῷ σώματι καταλέλοιπας· σύμβολον δέ σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖτις ἔστω, τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων μήτε σκιὰν ποιεῖν, μήτε σκαρδαμύττειν.

XXIV. Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Θεσπέσιος ἤδη τε 10 μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν τῷ λογίζεσθαι συνήγαγε, καὶ διαβλέψας εἶδεν ἑαυτῷ μέν τινα συναιωρουμένην ἀμυδράν τινα καὶ σκιώδη γραμμὴν, ἐκείνους δὲ περιλαμπομένους κύκλῳ καὶ διαφανεῖς ἐντὸς, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἅπαντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ καθαρωτάτη 15 πανσέληνος, ἐν χρῶμα λεῖον καὶ συνεχὲς καὶ ὁμαλῶς ἰέντας· ἐτέρων δὲ φολίδας τινὰς διατρεχούσας ἢ μώλωπας ἀραιούς· ἄλλους δὲ κομιδῇ ποικίλους καὶ ἀτόπους τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἔχεις, μελάσμασι κατεστιγμένους· ἄλλους δὲ τινας, ἀμβλείας ἀμυχὰς ἔχον- 20 τας. Ἐλεγεν οὖν ἕκαστα φράζων ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου συγγενῆς (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω κωλύει τὰς ψυχὰς ὀνόματι ἀνθρώπων προσαγορεύειν) ὥς Ἀδράστεια μὲν, Ἀνάγκης καὶ Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τιμωρὸς ἀνωτάτῳ τέτακται τοῖς ἀδικήμασι· καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν 25 οὔτε μέγας οὐδεὶς οὔτε μικρὸς γέγονεν, ὥστ' ἡ λαθὼν διαφεύγειν ἢ βιασάμενος. Ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλη τιμωρία

τριῶν οὐσῶν φύλακι καὶ χειρουργῷ προσήκει. Τοὺς
 μὲν γὰρ εὐδὺς ἐν σώματι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων κολαζο-
 μένους μεταχειρίζεται Ποινὴ ταχεῖα, πρᾶφ τινὶ
 τρόπῳ καὶ παραλείποντι πολλὰ τῶν καθαρμοῦ δεο-
 5 μένων· ὧν δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ἔργον ἢ περὶ τὴν κακίαν
 ἰατρεία, τοὺτους Δίκη μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ὁ δαίμων
 παραδίδωσι· τοὺς δὲ πᾶμπαν ἀνιάτους ἀπωσαμένης
 τῆς Δίκης, ἢ τρίτῃ καὶ ἀγριωτάτῃ τῶν Ἀδραστείας
 ὑπουργῶν Ἐριννὺς, μεταθέουσα πλανωμένους καὶ
 10 περιφεύγοντας ἄλλον ἄλλως, οἰκτρῶς τε καὶ χαλεπῶς
 ἅπαντας ἠφάνισε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὸ ἄρρητον καὶ
 ἀόρατον. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ἔφη, δικαιώσεων ἢ μὲν ὑπὸ
 τῆς Ποινῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ταῖς βαρβαρिकाῖς ἔοικεν. Ὡς
 γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν κολαζομένων τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ
 15 τιάρας ἀποτίλλουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ παύ-
 σασθαι δακρύοντες ἀντιβολοῦσιν· οὕτως αἱ διὰ
 χρημάτων καὶ διὰ σωμάτων κολάσεις ἀφὴν οὐκ
 ἔχουσι δριμεῖαν, οὐδ' αὐτῆς ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῆς
 κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ πρὸς αἴσθησιν
 20 αὐτῶν εἰσιν. Ὃς δ' ἂν ἐκείθεν ἀκόλαστος ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἐξίκηται, τοῦτον ἡ Δίκη διαλαβοῦσα
 τῇ ψυχῇ καταφανῇ γυμνόν, εἰς οὐδὲν ἔχοντα κατα-
 δύναι καὶ ἀποκρύνθασθαι καὶ περιστέλλαι τὴν
 μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ
 25 πάντα καθορώμενον, ἔδειξε πρῶτον ἀγαθοῖς γονεῦσιν,
 ἂν περ ὦσι, προγόνους αὐτοῦ πρόσπτυστον ὄντα καὶ
 ἀνάξιον· ἐὰν δὲ φαῦλοι, κολαζομένους ἐπιδὼν ἐκείνους

καὶ ὀφθαί, δικαιούται πολὺν χρόνον ἐξαιρούμενος
ἐκαστον τῶν παθῶν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ πόνοις, οἱ τοσούτῳ
μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότητι τοὺς διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπερβάλ-
λουσιν, ὅσῳ τὸ ὕπαρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἐναργέστε-
ρον. Οὐλαὶ δὲ καὶ μώλωπες ἐπὶ τῶν παθῶν ἐκάσ- 5
του τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον ἐμμένουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἥσσον. "Ορα
δὲ, εἶπε, τὰ ποίκιλα ταῦτα καὶ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα
τῶν ψυχῶν · τὸ μὲν ὄρφνιον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν, ἀνελευ-
θερίας ἀλοιφήν καὶ πλεονεξίας · τὸ δὲ αἱματωπὸν καὶ
διάπυρον, ὠμότητος καὶ πικρίας · ὅπου δὲ τὸ γλαύ- 10
κινὸν ἐστίν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀκрасία τις περὶ ἡδονὰς ἐκτέ-
τριπται μόλις · κακόννοια δ' ἐνούσα μετὰ φθόρου
τουτὶ τὸ ἰώδες καὶ ὕπουλον, ὥσπερ αἱ σηπταὶ τὸ
μέλαν, ἀφίησιν. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἥ τε κακία τῆς ψυχῆς
τρεπομένης ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης τὸ σῶμα 15
τὰς χροὰς ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρμοῦ καὶ
κολάσεως πέρας ἐστὶ τούτων ἐκλεανθέντων παντά-
πασι, ὥστε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγοειδῇ καὶ σύγχρουν γίνεσ-
θαι. Μέχρι δὲ οὗ ταῦτα ἔνεστι, γίνονται τινες
ὑποτροπαὶ τῶν παθῶν, σφυγμοὺς ἔχουσαι καὶ πῆδη- 20
σιν, ἐνταῖς μὲν ἀμυδρᾶν καὶ ταχὺ κατασβεσσμένην,
ἐνταῖς δὲ νεανικῶς ἐντείνουσιν · ὧν αἱ μὲν πάλιν καὶ
πάλιν κολασθεῖσαι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔξιν καὶ διά-
θεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσι · τὰς δ' αὖθις εἰς σώματα
ζώων ἐξήνεγκεν βιαιότης ἀμαθίας καὶ φιληδονίας 25
εἶδος · ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεία λόγου καὶ δι' ἀργίαν τοῦ
θεωρεῖν, ἔρρεψε τῷ πρακτικῷ πρὸς γένεσιν · ἡ δ'

ὀργάνου τοῦ ἀκολάστου δεομένη, ποθεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συρῥάψαι ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι, καὶ συνεπαίρεσθαι διὰ σώματος. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ σκιά τις ἀτελής καὶ ὄναρ ἡδονῆς πλήρωσι οὐκ ἐχούσης πάρεστι.

- 5 XXV. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, ἦγεν αὐτὸν ταχὺ μὲν, ἄπλετον δέ τινα τόπον, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, διεξιόντα ῥαδίως καὶ ἀπλανῶς, οἷον ὑπὸ πτερῶν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς αὐγῶν ἀναφερόμενον· μέχρις οὗ πρὸς τι χάσμα μέγα καὶ κάτω διήκον ἀφικόμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐχούσης ἀπελείφθη
- 10 δυνάμεως, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς ἑώρα τοῦτο πασχούσας ἐκεῖ. Συστελλόμεναι γὰρ ὥσπερ αἱ ὄρνιθες, καὶ καταφερόμεναι, κύκλῳ τὸ χάσμα περιήσαν· ἀντικρυς δὲ περᾶν οὐκ ἐτόλμων. Ἔισω μὲν ὀφθῆναι, τοῖς βακχικοῖς ἄντροις ὁμοίως ὕλη καὶ χλωρότητι
- 15 καὶ χλόαις ἀνθίων ἀπάσαις διαπεποικιλμένον· ἐξέπνει δὲ μαλακὴν καὶ πραεῖαν αὔραν, ὁσμάς ἀναφέρουσαν ἡδονῆς τε θανμασίας, καὶ κρᾶσιν, οἷον ὁ οἶνος τοῖς μεθύσκομένοις, ἐμποιοῦσαν. Εὐωχούμεναι γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ ταῖς εὐωδαίαις, διεχέοντό τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλή-
- 20 λας ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο· καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν κύκλῳ κατεῖχε βακχεία καὶ γέλως, καὶ πᾶσα μούσα παιζόντων καὶ τερπομένων. Ἐλεγε δὲ ταύτῃ τὸν Διόνυσον εἰς θεοὺς ἀνελθεῖν, καὶ τὴν Σεμέλην ἀνάγειν ὕστερον· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Λήθης τὸν τόπον. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ δια-
- 25 τρίβειν βουλόμενον εἶα τὸν Θεσπέσιον, ἀλλ' ἀφείλε βία, διδάσκων ἅμα καὶ λέγων, ὡς ἐκτίκεται καὶ ἀνυγραίνεται τὸ φρονοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλο-

γον καὶ σωματοειδὲς ἀρδόμενον καὶ σαρκούμενον,
 ἐμποιεῖ τοῦ σώματος μνήμην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μνήμης
 ἵμερον καὶ πόθον ἔλκοντα πρὸς γένεσιν, ἣν οὕτως
 ὠνομάσθαι νεῦσιν ἐπὶ γῆν οὔσαν, ὑγρότητι βαρυνο-
 μένης τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἄλλην οὖν τοσαύτην διελθὼν 5
 ὁδὸν, ἔδοξεν ἀφορᾶν κρατῆρα μέγαν, εἰς δὲ τοῦτον
 ἐμβάλλοντα ρεύματα, τὸ μὲν ἀφροῦ θαλάσσης ἡ
 χιόνος λευκότερον, τὸ δὲ ὁποῖον Ἴρις ἐξανθεῖ τὸ
 αἰουργόν, ἅλλα δ' ἅλλαις βαφαῖς κεχρωσμένα,
 πρόσωθεν ἴδιον ἐχούσαις φέγγος. Ὡς δὲ πλησίον 10
 ἦλθεν, ὁ κρατῆρ ἐκείνος, ἀφανισθέντος μᾶλλον τοῦ
 περιέχοντος, τῶν τε χρωμάτων ἀμαυρουμένων, τὸ
 ἀνθηρότερον ἀπέλειπε πλὴν τῆς λευκότητος. Ἐώρα
 δὲ τρεῖς δαίμονας ὁμοῦ καθημένους ἐν σχήματι τρι-
 γώνου, πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ρεύματα μέτροις τισὶν 15
 ἀνακεραυνύντας. Ἐλεγεν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου ψυ-
 χοπομπὸς, ἄχρι τούτου τὸν Ὀρφέα προσελθεῖν, ὅτε
 τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς γυναικὸς μετῇ, καὶ μὴ καλῶς διαμνη-
 μονεύσαντα λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους κίβδηλον ἐξενεγ-
 κεῖν, ὥς κοινὸν εἶη μαντεῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος 20
 καὶ νυκτός· οὐδενὸς γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι νύκτα κοινωνεῖν.
 Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, νυκτός ἐστι καὶ σελήνης μαν-
 τεῖον κοινόν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς περαῖον μαντεῖον, οὐδ'
 ἔχον ἔδραν μίαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα πλανητὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους ἐνυπνίοις καὶ εἰδώλοις. Ἐκ τούτου γὰρ 25
 οἱ ὄνειροι μινγύμενοι, ὥς ὄρας, τῷ ἀπατηλῷ καὶ ποι-
 κίλῳ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς παραλαμβάνοντες, δια-

- σπεύρουσι· τὸ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος οὐ κάτοιδας, εἶπεν,
οὐδὲ κατιδεῖν ἔση δυνατός· ἀνωτέρω γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιδί-
δωσιν οὐδὲ χαλᾷ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπύγειον, ἀλλὰ κατα-
τείνει τῷ σώματι προσσηρτημένον. Ἄμα δ' ἐπειράτο
5 προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίπο-
δος, ὡς ἔλεγε, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπερειδό-
μενον εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν· καὶ προθυμούμενος ἰδεῖν,
οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ' ἤκουε παριῶν
φωνὴν ὀξεῖαν γυναικὸς, ἐν μέτρῳ φράζουσας ἄλλα τέ
10 τινα, καὶ χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς.
Ἐλεγε δὲ ὁ Δαίμων, τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι Σιβύλλης·
ἄδειν γὰρ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ
τῆς σελήνης περιφερομένην. Βουλόμενος οὖν ἀκ-
ροᾶσθαι πλείονα, τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς σελήνης εἰς τοῦναντιον,
15 ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δίναις, ἐξεώσθη, καὶ βραχέα κατή-
κουσεν· ὧν ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος καὶ τὴν
Δικαιαρχείας ὑπὸ πυρὸς φθορὰν γενησομένην· καί
τι κομμάτιον περὶ τοῦ τότε ἡγεμόνος, ὡς

Ἑσθλὸς ἔων, νόσφ' . . . τυραννίδα λείψει.

- 20 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῶν κολαζομένων
ἐτρέποντο· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, δυσχερεῖς καὶ οἰκ-
τρὰς εἶχον ὄψεις μόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ
οἰκείοις καὶ συνήθεσιν ὁ Θεσπέσιος οὐκ ἂν προσ-
δοκῆσας κολαζομένοις ἐνετύγχανε, οἳ καὶ δεινὰ
25 παθήματα καὶ τιμωρίας ἀσχήμονας καὶ ἀλγεινὰς
ὑπομένοντες, ὥκτιζοντο πρὸς ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνεκλαίοντο.

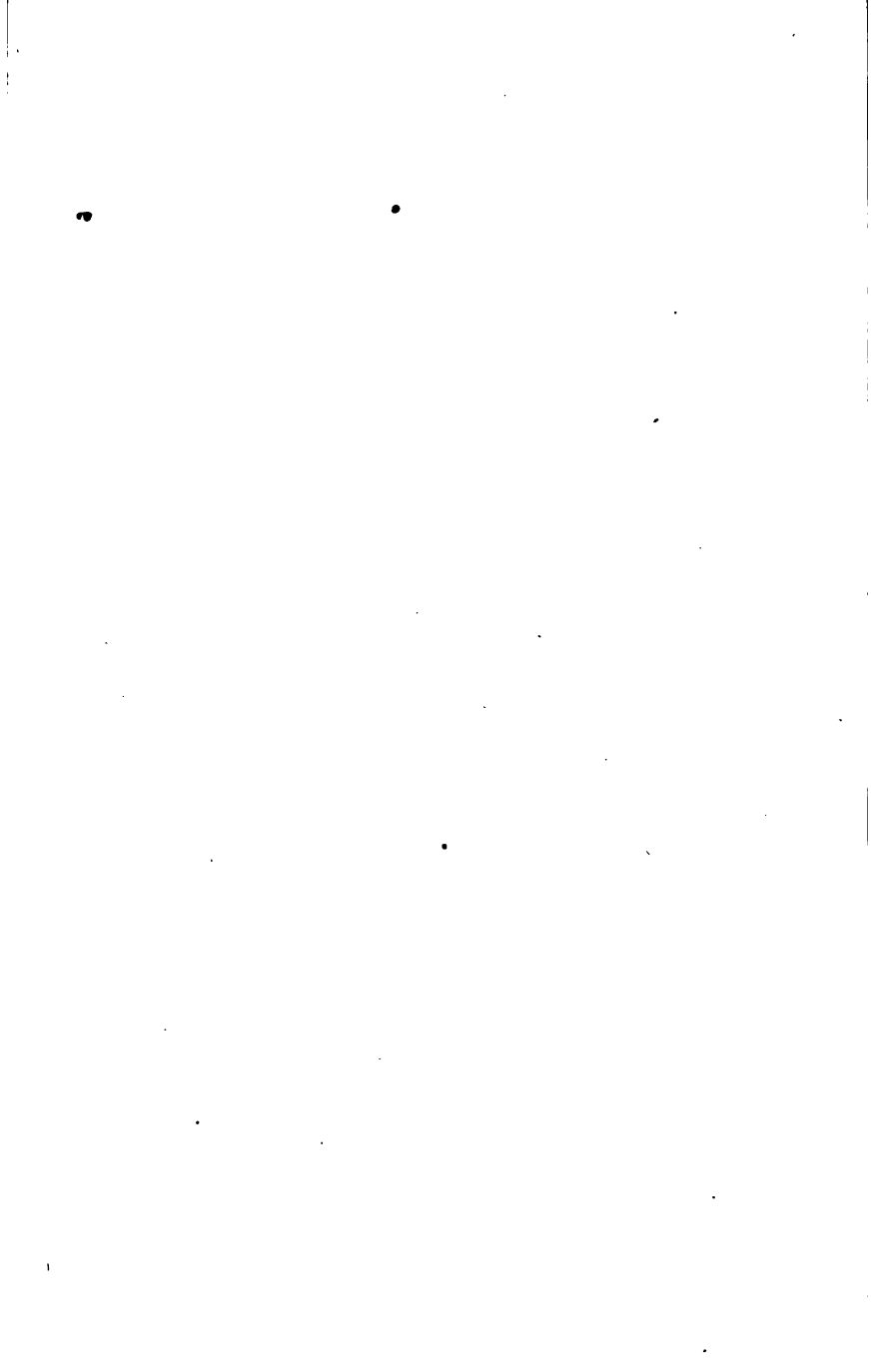
XXVI. Τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατείδεν
 ἕκ τινος βαράθρου στιγμάτων καὶ οὐλῶν μεστὸν
 ἀναδυνόμενον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ, καὶ σιωπᾶν
 οὐκ ἔωμενον, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐφεστώτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ὅτι περὶ ξένους τινὰς 5
 μιαιρὸς γενόμενος χρυσίον ἔχοντας, φαρμάκοις δια-
 φθείρας, καὶ ἐκεῖ διαλαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἐνταῦθ' ἐξε-
 λεγχθεῖς, τὰ μὲν ἤδη πέπονθε, τὰ δ' ἄγεται πεισό-
 μενος. Ἴκετεύειν μὲν οὖν ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ
 πατρὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμα, δι' ἑκπληξιν καὶ δέος· ὑπο- 10
 στρέψαι δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἔτι τὸν
 πρῶτον ἐκείνον ἐώρα καὶ οἰκέϊον ξεναγόν, ἀλλ' ὑφ'
 ἐτέρων τινῶν φοβερῶν τὴν ὄψιν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν
 ὠθοούμενος, ὡς ἀνάγκην οὔσαν οὕτω διεξελθεῖν, ἐθεᾶ-
 το τῶν μὲν γνωρίμως ποινηρῶν γενομένων ἢ κολασ- 15
 θέντων αὐτόθι τὴν σκιὰν οὐκ ἐτ' εἶναι χαλεπῶς, οὐδ'
 ὁμοίως τριβομένην ἀτελῇ περὶ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ παθη-
 τικὸν ἐπίπουνον οὔσαν· ὅσοι δὲ πρόσχημα καὶ δόξαν
 ἀρετῆς περιβαλλόμενοι διεβίωσαν κακίᾳ λανθανούσῃ,
 τούτους ἐπιπόνως καὶ ὀδυνηρῶς ἠνάγκαζον ἕτεροι 20
 περιεστῶτες ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰ ἐντὸς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς,
 ἰλυσπώμενους παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀνακαμπτομένους,
 ὥσπερ αἱ θαλάττιαι σκολόπενδραι, καταπιούσαι τὸ
 ἄγκιστρον, ἐκτρέπουσιν ἑαυτάς. Ἐνίους δ' ἀναδέ-
 ροντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναπτύσσοντες, ἀπεδεικνυσαν 25
 ὑποούλους καὶ ποικίλους, ἐν τῷ λογιστικῷ καὶ κυρίῳ
 τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἔχοντας. Ἄλλας δ' ἔφη ψυχὰς

ἰδεῖν, ὥσπερ τὰς ἐχίδνας περιπεπλεγμένας σύνδυο
 καὶ σύντρεῖς καὶ πλείονας, ἀλλήλας ἐσθιούσας ὑπὸ
 μνησικακίας καὶ κακοθυμίας ὧν ἔπαθον ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἢ
 ἔδρασαν. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας παραλλήλας, τὴν
 5 μὲν χρυσοῦ περιζέοντος, τὴν δὲ μολίβδου, ψυχροτά-
 την, ἄλλην δὲ τραχείαν σιδήρου· καὶ τινὰς ἐφεστάναι
 δαίμονας, ὥσπερ οἱ χαλκεῖς, ὀργάνοις ἀναλαμβάνον-
 τας καὶ καθιέντας ἐν μέρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δι'
 ἀπληστίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πονηρῶν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ
 10 τῷ χρυσῷ διαπύρους καὶ διαφανεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγε-
 σθαι γενομένας, ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν τοῦ μολίβδου
 βάπτοντες· ἐκπαγείσας δ' αὐτόθι καὶ γενομένας
 σκληρὰς, ὥσπερ αἱ χάλαζαι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σιδή-
 ρου μεθίστασαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ μέλαιναί τε δεινῶς
 15 ἐγένοντο, καὶ περικλόμεναι διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ συν-
 τριβόμεναι, τὰ εἶδη μετέβαλον· εἰς οὗτω πάλιν εἰς
 τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκομίζοντο, δεινὰς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐν ταῖς
 μεταβολαῖς ἀλγηδύνας ὑπομένουσαι. Πάντων δὲ
 πάσχειν ἔλεγεν οἰκτρότατα τὰς ἡδὴ δοκούσας ἀφείσ-
 20 θαι τῆς δίκης, εἰτ' αὖθις συλλαμβανομένας. Αὐταὶ
 δ' ἦσαν, ὧν εἷς τινὰς ἐκγόνους ἢ παῖδας ἢ ποινὴ πε-
 ριῆλθεν. Ὅποτε γὰρ τις ἐκείνων ἀφίκοιτο καὶ περι-
 τύχοι, προσέπιπτεν ὀργῇ καὶ κατεβόα, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα
 τῶν παθῶν ἐδείκνυνεν, ὀνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα
 25 φεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένην, οὐ δυνα-
 μένην δέ. Ταχὺ γὰρ μετέθεον οἱ κολασταὶ πρὸς τὴν
 δίκην, καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἤπειγον ὀλοφυρομένας, τῷ προ-

γινώσκειν τὴν τιμωρίαν. Ἐνίας δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ἄμα
 τῶν ἐκγόνων ἔλεγε συνηρτῆσθαι, καὶ καδάπερ μελίτ-
 τας ἢ νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας καὶ τετριγυίας
 ὑπὸ μνήμης καὶ ὀργῆς ὧν ἔπαθον δι' αὐτάς. Ἐσχατα
 δὲ ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπὶ δευτέραν γένεσιν τρεπο- 5
 μένας ψυχὰς, εἰς τε ζῶα παντοδαπὰ καμπτομένας
 βία καὶ μετασχηματιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα δημιουρ-
 γούντων ὀργάνοις τισὶ καὶ πληγαῖς, τῶν μὲν ὅλα τὰ
 μέρη συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δ' ἀποστρέφόντων, ἔνια δ'
 ἐκλεινόντων καὶ ἀφανιζόντων παντάπασιν, ὅπως 10
 ἐφαρμόσειεν ἑτέροις ἥδεσι καὶ βίοις. Ἐν ταύταις
 φανῆναι τὴν Νέρωνος ψυχὴν τά τ' ἄλλα κακῶς
 ἔχουσαν ἤδη, καὶ διαπεπαρμένην ἥλοις διαπύροις.
 Προκεχειρισμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τῶν δημιουργῶν
 Πινδαρικῆς ἐχίδνης εἶδος, ἐν ᾗ κυηθεῖσα καὶ διαφα- 15
 γοῦσα τὴν μητέρα βιώσεσθαι, φῶς ἔφασκεν ἐξαίφνης
 διαλάμφαι μέγα, καὶ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς γενέσθαι,
 προστάττουσαν εἰς ἄλλο γένος ἡμερώτερον μεταβα-
 λεῖν, ὧδικόν τι μηχανησαμένους περὶ ἔλη καὶ λίμνας
 ζῶον· ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἠδίκησε, δέδωκε δίκας· ὀφείλε- 20
 σθαι δέ τι καὶ χρηστὸν αὐτῷ παρὰ θεῶν, ὅτι τῶν
 ὑπηκόων τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος
 ἠλευθέρωσε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν εἶναι
 τούτων θεατῆς· ὥς δ' ἀναστρέφειν ἔμελλεν, ἐν παντὶ
 γενέσθαι κακῷ διὰ φόβον. Γυναῖκα γάρ τινα λαβο- 25
 μένην αὐτοῦ, θανμαστήν τὸ εἶδος καὶ μέγεθος, Δεῦρο
 δὴ, εἶπεν, οὗτος, ὅπως ἕκαστα μᾶλλον μνημονεύσης·

καί τι ῥαβδίων, ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι, διάπυρον προσ-
άγειν, ἐτέραν δὲ κωλύειν· αὐτὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
σύριγγος ἐξαίφνης σπασθέντα πνεύματι νεανικῷ
σφόδρα καὶ βιαίῳ, τῷ σώματι προσπεσεῖν, καὶ ἀνα-
5 βλέψαι σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μνήματος.

NOTES.



STRUCTURE AND ARGUMENT OF THE WORK.

THE treatise is entitled in Greek: *Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ βραδείας τιμωρουμένων*. The common title in Latin is: *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*. The subject is represented as discussed in a conversation between Plutarch and several of his relatives or intimate friends, as they happened to be walking, on a certain occasion, for exercise. The scene is laid at Delphi, the seat of the celebrated oracle, where Plutarch resided, to which locality repeated allusion is made in the course of the dialogue. The person whose remarks gave rise to the discussion, a certain Epicurus, one of the "minute philosophers" of the age, has just left the company, at the opening of the piece, as here reported, in a state of great excitement. We learn what it was that had thrown him into such a passion, from the tenor of the conversation which ensues on his departure. Unlike the other speakers, this Epicurus is no doubt a fictitious person, who bears that name as indicating the sect in philosophy whose views he represented. Plutarch sustains the principal part in the dialogue, and may be considered as defending not only his own opinions, but those of the New Platonic school in general, the class of philosophers with whom he agreed in most of his religious opinions. It is interesting to recollect, that Christianity found, in this form of Platonism (sometimes called Platonic Eclecticism), its point

of nearest approximation, on the part of heathenism, and that in this school, as a sort of intermediate position, several of the earlier and more distinguished Christian Fathers received a training which prepared them, on hearing the Gospel, to embrace it the more readily.* The other speakers in the dialogue are Patrocleas, Timon, and Olympicus. The first of these was a son-in-law of Plutarch, who is introduced elsewhere in his writings, as sustaining that relation to him. Timon is probably the brother of that name whom Plutarch mentions, in another of his treatises, as having shown to him proofs of an uncommon fraternal affection. Olympicus is otherwise unknown to us, unless he be the individual who appears as one of the colloquists in the author's Symposium. Plutarch himself engrosses so much of the conversation, while the other speakers have so little to say, that we might entitle the performance a monologue, with quite as much propriety as a dialogue. Its interest, however, does not depend on its form. Whether we view it under the one aspect or the other, whether we call it a discussion or a colloquy, we must still regard it as a calm, studied exposition of the highest views on one of the most difficult questions of natural theology which the mind of man seems capable of attaining without the light of revelation.

Epicurus is represented as going away abruptly, at

* It is within the knowledge of the writer that the reading of this very treatise of Plutarch, which we are about to examine, had a salutary effect on the mind of Professor Tholuck, at a time when he was inclined to scepticism, and was among the providential means of leading him to find the best solution of his doubts in the teachings of the Bible. A similar fact is related of the illustrious Neander, in a biographical sketch which appeared soon after his death in the *Studien und Kritiken*.

the beginning of the dialogue, leaving the company in silent astonishment at the passion and absurdity with which he had inveighed against the justice of the Deity in the government of the world. Timon first breaks this silence, and suggests whether, although what they had heard was so weak in itself, they ought not to take occasion from it to discuss freely the topics which had been introduced, and thus preserve themselves from any injurious effect, which even vague representation and mere invective might have upon them, if left unanswered. Brasidas, a Spartan general, having been pierced with a spear in battle, drew it forth from his body and hurled it back against the enemy, whom he slew with the same weapon. How much more important must it be to protect ourselves against attacks on our integrity and our principles, than against those which are aimed merely against our persons! They all assent to the correctness of this view; and Patrocleas, who seems to have been more perplexed than the others by the discourse of Epicurus, proceeds then to restate some of the principal ideas which had been advanced, strengthened by some objections of his own, to the commonly-received doctrine of a retributive Providence. He asserts, that the long-delayed punishment of the guilty argues an unbecoming indifference, on the part of the Deity, to the deserts of crime; that it fails to restrain the commission of it, as a more speedy retribution would do; that it is often entirely useless as a reparation to those who have suffered from injustice, since they are generally dead long before their wrongs are vindicated; and finally, that it emboldens the wicked in their course by leading them to think, that because they are spared for a time, they may therefore trample on the laws of God with permanent impunity.

Some of these points the speaker confirms by historical illustrations.

Olympicus here interposes, and adds to these objections still others. He urges especially, that such delay in the punishment of the wicked must have a tendency to destroy the belief of men in the reality of a Divine Providence itself; and, further, that where the act and its consequences follow each other at such a distance, no useful purpose can be accomplished, as far as respects the reformation of the offender himself. Punishment delayed for a long time after the commission of the crime, instead of being referred to its proper source, is liable to be regarded as a calamity or accident. The tardy retribution, standing in no obvious relation to its cause, may annoy and distress the guilty person, but must fail to lead him to profitable reflections on his conduct and the occasion of his suffering. Hence, he says, he could never think with any patience of the maxim so often quoted by the poets: *The mill-stones of the gods grind late, but they grind fine.*

The theme for discussion having been thus presented, Plutarch takes upon himself chiefly the office of replying to the objections which have been stated, whether such objections originate with those who deny the truth, or with those who are simply perplexed on the subject. He begins by reminding his friends of the caution and self-distrust with which it becomes them to pursue inquiries of so intricate a character. They should take their motto from the Academic philosophers, whose reverence for the Deity was proverbial; who viewed it as impious to discourse on such subjects with a confident tone. They should recollect the necessary imperfections of human knowledge, and not to be so inconsistent as to demand a

full explanation of every difficulty that may be started here by an unrestrained imagination. Let those who are ignorant of the science of music, who are destitute of the power of perceiving the harmony of sounds, talk at random, if they choose, about notes and symphonies ; or, let those who have never seen a battle or handled a weapon in their lives, discourse of military tactics. But let not us, who are mortal, finite, commit such folly as that of presuming to scrutinize the plans of the Deity, and to pronounce them wise or unwise, just or unjust, according to the narrow scale of our own limited knowledge and understanding. Those who have no knowledge of medicine must find it difficult often to discover why the physician performed an operation later, and not sooner ; why he ordered the bath to-day, and not yesterday. The cure and purification of the soul is, of all arts, the greatest. Hence it is the dictate alike of modesty and reason that we should leave it to him who understands best the remedy for moral disease, to determine *when* and *in what manner* and *how much* each one of the wicked should be punished. Even human governments frequently adopt measures that must appear, to those unacquainted with the grounds of them, as not only unreasonable, but altogether ridiculous and absurd. Thus the Ephori at Sparta signalize their entrance upon office by proclaiming that no one should wear mustaches ; the Romans, when they emancipate a slave, strike him on the back with a light rod ; and when they make a will, first go through the form of selling their property to a third person, instead of the intended heir. Much more, then, should we be prepared to meet with mysteries in the Divine government, which cannot make known, always, the reason on which it proceeds ; which is planned and carried on by a wisdom too deep

for our finite comprehension. But this train of thought, the speaker says, that he would suggest, not as an excuse for declining the argument, or as discouraging a proper freedom of inquiry in such matters, but as intending merely to show with what spirit they should discuss them, and as disclosing a harbor in which they might take refuge, in case the difficulties should prove to be too great for them.

Our author enters, therefore, in the next place, on a direct vindication of Providence against the charge of remissness, in treating or seeming to treat the good and the bad so much alike in the present life. The reasoning assumes that this alleged inequality, in the experience and allotments of men, is true in part, and must be admitted; but, in part, is apparent only, and is to be denied. To some extent it undoubtedly exists; and here we can conceive of various important moral ends, which such a course is suited to accomplish, that render it not unworthy of the Supreme Disposer to proceed in this manner.

The following considerations are urged here: First, the Governor of the world, by such forbearance towards the wicked, would present to us an example of the manner in which we are to conduct towards those who injure us and provoke our anger. A resemblance to the Divine nature is the highest human virtue; and hence to incite us to this, to unfold to us a clearer conception of what we should strive to be, the Deity has been pleased to make himself known to mankind in his works and operations, in the realms both of nature and of providence. Thus he has given us the eye, as Plato says, to enable us to contemplate the heavenly bodies, to admire the method and precision of their motions, that we may learn to cultivate

what is decent and orderly in ourselves, and avoid whatever is disorderly or irregular in our conduct or our passions. A similar lesson he would teach us by his patience towards the wicked. He bears with them, not from a fear lest he should err by an immediate punishment of them, but because he would reprove men for the fury and violence with which they are disposed to revenge their injuries on each other; he would lead them to imitate his own gentleness and forbearance, in dealing with those who have the least possible claim upon his indulgence. Men are too apt to pursue the offender with immediate and unsparing rigor, like hounds baying with open mouth at the heels of their prey. Even the lower examples of this patience, which appear sometimes in eminent men, command our admiration. Thus Plato, having lifted his cane in a fit of passion, over one of his slaves, stood for a long time with up-raised arm, saying that he was punishing his temper; and Archytas, perceiving that he was unduly provoked by some misconduct of his servants, turned from them with the remark, that it was well for them he was so angry.

Secondly, the wicked who are not incorrigible, have, in consequence of such delay, an opportunity to repent; and are spared, therefore, not from indifference to their conduct, but a desire for their reformation. It is reasonable to conclude that the Deity, in the case of a diseased soul which may deserve punishment, perceives clearly its passions, whether, still flexible, they incline at all to repentance; and hence he may justly allot time at least for reformation to those whose vice has not become unrestrained and incorrigible. The summary justice, on the contrary, to which the passions of men incite them, excludes necessarily all regard for this object, and degene-

rates too often into the mere gratification of personal malice and revenge. The wisdom of the Divine policy, so different from this, is fully justified by the results. Men are susceptible of change and improvement. The very terms which designate character imply this possibility; as *τροπός*, turn of mind, manner, and *ἥθος*, custom, habit. History records the names of many who have changed from worse to better; who, in early life were profligate and worthless, but afterward reformed and became eminent for their political services and for their virtues. But if now Miltiades, asks Plutarch, had been arrested at once, in the midst of his tyranny, or Themistocles in his debaucheries, or Cimon in his incest, where would have been the victories of Marathon, Eurymedon, and Artemisium, in which the Greeks vindicated so nobly their liberties and acquired such imperishable renown?

The skilful husbandman sees evidence of the richness of the soil in the thorns and mire, which so deform it in the eyes of the superficial judge; and so "great natures" may indicate their future power and their capacity for excellence, even by their vices. As the good fruit may appear in time, it cannot be unwise to afford an opportunity for that development.

Thirdly, the wicked are sometimes permitted to live and prosper, because Providence would use them as instruments of its justice in the punishment of others. It is on this account especially, that tyrants are allowed so often to succeed in their designs. As physicians use the gall of hyenas and other noxious animals as a cure for certain disorders, so the Deity employs often the rage of tyrannical rulers as a means of reforming states and communities which have fallen into luxury

and corruption. Such a medicine was Phalaris to the Agrigentines, and Marius to the Romans; and the oracle announced to the Sicyonians that there was nothing which could save them from ruin but the wholesome discipline of being scourged by a race of tyrants.

Fourthly, the wicked may be spared for a time, because it is foreseen that they are to bless the world with a noble and virtuous posterity. Homer says of one of his heroes, that "he was the better son of a worse father." The progeny of such infamous men as Sisyphus, Autolychus, and Phlegyas, attained the honors of kings as the just rewards of their regal virtues. Pericles belonged to a family "accursed." Pompey the Great was the son of a man whose dead body the Romans trampled under foot, and cast into the Tiber. But though the tree may be thorny and sharp, the wise husbandman does not cut it down, if he can obtain from it flowers, and fruit, and gums. The blessings which the good confer on the world outweigh, a thousand times, the evils which the bad inflict upon it.

Finally, the punishment of crime is sometimes deferred for a season, that it may be inflicted, at length, in a manner which makes the hand of Providence so much the more conspicuous in it. The well-known case of Callippus teaches that moral. The very dagger which, under the mask of friendship, he had used in taking the life of Dion, was used by false friends for the purpose of taking his own life. The story of Bessus, who had murdered his father and for years had escaped detection, is still more remarkable. Being present on a certain occasion, with some friends at a feast, he suddenly lifted his spear and struck down a nest of young swallows, which he immediately killed. On being asked what reason he

could possibly have for so barbarous an act, he replied : "Do you not hear how they falsely accuse me, and cry out that I murdered my father?" The suspicion which this answer excited, was confirmed upon investigation; the unnatural son was convicted and condemned to suffer death for the parricide. Thus has the Divine justice often seemed to slumber for a time; but in reality it was only to furnish, in the end, so much the more striking proof of its eternal vigilance.

But there is another side, on which the subject may be viewed. It is next argued that the objection against an overruling Providence, founded on the prosperity of the wicked, has been urged much too far. There are limits beyond which this alleged impunity of the wicked is apparent rather than real. Guilt has its immediate retributions; it sets the sinner at variance with himself, arms his conscience against him, and renders him the prey of anxieties and fears which can find no admission to the bosoms of the innocent. Many people judge as erroneously here as children do who witness the spectacles of the theatre; they look with admiration upon the poor culprits, who, crowned with garlands and arrayed in robes of purple and gold, dance there for the entertainment of the populace; until at length they see, with horror, the flames bursting forth from their garments (inlaid with combustibles for that purpose) and consigning them to a dreadful death.* So, many look with envy on the wicked who occupy splendid palaces, who enjoy honor and power; and have no idea of any punishment suffered by such men, till they see them strangled by the

* Some of the first Christian martyrs were put to death in this manner, in the persecutions under the Roman emperors.

halter or thrown over the precipice. But such a result they ought to regard, not as the entire retribution, but its end and consummation. The wicked suffer, in reality, not a *late* but a *long* punishment; they are not punished after they have grown old, but they grow old being punished all the while. The conception of time in this case as long, is such only with reference to ourselves, and not the Deity; for the distinctions of time have no place with him. To put the malefactor to the rack or hang him now, instead of having done it thirty years ago, is the same thing, in his sight, as if it were to take place in the evening and not in the morning. In all the interval, too, till the period of full retribution arrives, he has the wicked safe in his custody, and incurs no risk of their escape, by any possibility, from his justice. They may, it is true, during this imprisonment, occupy themselves with business or pleasure, may give presents and receive them; just as the culprit in jail may pass his time in sports and games, while the rope is hanging over his head. But who would say that those awaiting death in prison are not punished till their necks are cut off? Who would say that those who have drunk the hemlock, but are still walking about till their limbs become weary, are unharmed till they are stiff and cold in death? To deny that those are punished who suffer the anxieties and perturbations of mind inseparable from crime, from the first moment of its commission, would be as absurd as to say that the fish which has already swallowed the hook, is not caught till we see it cut in pieces and roasting on the fire!

The poets and dramatists have borne witness to this trait of human nature. Stesichorus represents the guilty Clytemnestra as having a dream, in which a dragon with a bloody head seemed to approach her, presaging the

vengeance which Orestes was to take upon her, for murdering his father. They relate of Apollodorus, a monster of inhumanity, that he dreamed that he was skinned alive by the Scythians, and then seethed in a caldron, from which his heart cried out to him ever and anon: "For all this you have to thank me." Ptolemy Ceraunus had his presentiments of what was to be the end of his career of ambition and blood. His attendants reported to him this singular dream: they saw him arraigned for justice by Seleucus (one of his murdered victims); vultures and wolves acted as judges, and portions of flesh were dealt out to his friends.* Such visions, phantoms, oracles, omens, disturb the guilty, and admonish them of their doom. Indeed, to such an extent is this true, that if the soul have no existence beyond this world, we might then reverse the objection and say, that greater lenity would be shown to the wicked by cutting them off suddenly in their sins, than by suffering them to live. Even if those who sin escape, during this life, without any signal disaster, how sad and depressing must it be for them to reflect on the unsatisfying result of their misdeeds! Their conduct must appear to them like that of the king who, for the sake of gratifying a momentary thirst, surrendered his army and his empire for a drop of water. The envious, the malignant, the avaricious, may gain a paltry advantage over others; may have the pleasure of

* On the same principle Shakspeare represents the ghosts of Clarence, Hastings, Buckingham, and others, as appearing to king Richard on the night before his fatal battle and threatening him with vengeance. On awaking from his troubled dream, the tyrant exclaims:

"My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain."

indulging a passion which it would require some self-denial to overcome at the moment ; but how soon must their exultation give place to a feeling of shame and self-contempt. Regret for the past, a sense of present insecurity, fear of death, a struggle between ignoble and better impulses, vain purposes of reformation, dread of censure, fill up and embitter their lives. They fear even those who praise them for virtues which they are reputed to have but have not ; for the very voice which applauds them would condemn them as readily, if their hypocrisy were only unmasked. How often, under such circumstances, must the soul oppressed with a sense of debasement revolve the question, How can I escape from the memory of my sins, and, being made pure, lead another life as from the beginning ? Thus it is that the transgressor forges the instruments of his own torture ; like the criminal condemned to be crucified, he bears his own cross to the place of execution. For my part, says Plutarch, I think, if the remark may be allowed, that the wicked have no need that gods or men should interpose to punish them ; their own lives, made so miserable by vice, are sufficient for that purpose.

Timon then leads the conversation to another kindred subject ; namely, the question how the rectitude of Providence is to be justified in punishing the children for the sins of their parents. He commends Euripides for speaking out so boldly the unuttered thought of many, that such a proceeding is unworthy of the gods. He objects to it as unjust in a twofold point of view. If the parents themselves have already suffered their deserts, there surely can be no good reason why justice should be exacted twice for the same offence ; and if they have not suffered their deserts, there can be still less reason why

the innocent should be made to atone for this deficiency. Nor will it be pretended that such punishment possesses any remedial virtue as regards those who, in such cases, are really the guilty persons. It was a saying of Bion, that to punish the children on account of the parents, with a view to any such result, was as if a physician should give physic to a son or grandson, in order to cure the distemper of a father or grandfather.

How absurd, he goes on to say, are the cases which are supposed to exemplify this mode of retribution! Thus the Delphians, having been guilty of the death of *Æsop*, suffered untold calamities for three generations; and were freed from them at length only by making reparation to a descendant of the man who had owned him as a slave. Alexander destroyed a city of the Greeks in Asia, because their remote ancestors had given up the treasure of a temple to Xerxes. Apollo, at that very time, was said to be inundating the region of Pheneus because, more than a thousand years before, Hercules had stolen the tripod from Delphi and carried it to that city. The Locrians had but recently abolished the practice of sending virgins to Troy, there to spend their days in the most degrading servitude, as a means of propitiating Minerva, whose temple Ajax profaned during the Trojan war. Who can defend such a punishment? Where is the reason or the justice of it?

Plutarch interposes here, and acts, again, the part of respondent. He denies the truth of many of the popular stories on this subject, but admits fully the reality of the doctrine. He contends, in the first place, that the instinct which leads us to honor and reward the posterity of the good, should lead us also to acquiesce in the punishment of the descendants of the wicked. Even in some

of the Grecian states, honors were conferred, by law, on certain families, out of regard to the merit of their founders; while disabilities were entailed on others because they had an infamous origin. Secondly, if no explanation of the manner in which the guilt of ancestors affects their posterity could be given, we ought not to deny the reality of the connection; for the relation of cause and effect is undeniable in many other cases, where it is impossible for us to ascertain how the events depended on each other. Why, for instance, is it more wonderful that a sin committed in one age should transmit its consequences to another, than that the plague which commenced in *Æthiopia* should spread to *Athens* and destroy so many of its inhabitants? Thirdly, the constitution of society itself, the nature of the tie which binds one generation to another, renders this law of retribution just, as well as inevitable. Every family, as well as every State, has a sort of separate existence, a personal identity of its own. It remains one and the same through successive ages, as really as a man remains the same individual through the different periods of his life. Hence it is but reasonable that the social crime of one age should be left to work out its legitimate social result in another; since the Deity, in the operation of such a law, is dealing still with the same agent, is merely holding the offender responsible for his own acts. To deny this would be to reason like *Heraclitus*, who held that a man could not descend twice into the same stream; or that the individual who owes a debt to-day is released from it to-morrow, because he is no longer the same person. Fourthly, much of the suffering which wicked parents entail upon their descendants, instead of being penal strictly, is preventive in its design. It is inflicted not so much as a punishment for the sins

which the fathers have committed, as for the purpose of preventing the commission of them by the children themselves. These latter inherit often the evil qualities of their progenitors; and unless reclaimed from the sinful bias, would inevitably follow them in the same path of open crime. A man does not show himself to be wicked, and become so in the same moment; but he has the wickedness in him from the first, and awaits only the fit opportunity to reveal his character as a thief or a tyrant. Hence the Deity, who foresees the future, and understands the disposition of every one, interposes with the necessary discipline for counteracting the inherited tendency to evil. Instead of allowing the latent seeds of vice to germinate, and ripen into actual guilt, he anticipates their development and extinguishes them at the beginning. Fifthly, this visitation of the sins of one upon another answers an important end as a warning against doing evil. Nothing touches the hearts of men sooner than the sight of their own offspring subjected to calamities which they themselves have brought upon them. Providence, therefore, has exhibited to us the spectacle of such suffering in order to infuse into the mind a stronger fear of transgression, and to multiply the inducements to good conduct. The consequences which follow a wicked life hereafter, are unseen and are too apt to be disbelieved; whereas those which come upon children through the agency of their parents, are open to the view of all, and appeal to the strongest sympathies of our nature. Finally, if the children themselves are virtuous, they are not harmed for what their ancestors have done. They have, then, no penalty to bear for the sins of others. They are subject to no abatement of the reward due to them for a single one of their virtues. It is only when

they themselves tread in the steps of a criminal race, that the guilt of such an ancestry avenges itself on them. A wicked son is the natural heir of his father's guilt; but if he be innocent himself, he becomes then, so to speak, the adopted child of virtue, and is treated as belonging to another stock.

But some of your remarks, says one of the speakers, imply the continued existence of the soul after death. That is true, Plutarch answers, and we have good reason for assuming that point; for that the souls of men continue to suffer or enjoy, after the present life, is a doctrine which results from the idea itself of an overruling Providence. It is incredible that the Deity would lavish so much care and attention upon us, if we were destined to perish forever with the dissolution of the body. It would be unworthy of Him to take such concern in our affairs if we were like the leaves which fall from the trees in autumn; or like the hot-house plant which has no enduring root, but may wither and die on the slightest exposure or neglect.* It proves the soul also to be immortal that the gods direct honors to be paid to the

* This is the point which Addison has urged with so much beauty and force in one of the numbers of the Spectator: "Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can he delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings? Would he give us talents which are not to be exerted, capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom which shines through all his works, in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery of the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick succession, are only to receive their first rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity."

departed, and sacrifices to be offered to them for the purpose of propitiating their favor. If the souls of the dead were like smoke or a vapor, surely the oracles which prescribe these customs, would not so abuse our credulity and confirm us in error. The practice of necromancy affords another proof of the same nature. We have those among us whose acknowledged office it is to evoke the spirits of the dead, consult them, and lead them from place to place.

But if now the soul merely changes the scene of its existence at death, we may conclude that the future state to which it is destined, must be one of rewards or punishments. The soul, so long as it continues in this life, maintains, like a wrestler, perpetual combat; but when the trial is ended, goes to receive according to its deserts. To clothe this truth with the greatest practical power, Plutarch avails himself, in conclusion, of a singular story respecting a man named Aridæus, a native of Cilicia, but well known to persons with whom they were all acquainted. This man had been born to a large estate, but soon lost it by a course of profligacy, and was plunged, at once, into all the evils of abject poverty. In this condition, stung with self-reproach for his folly, he suddenly resolved that he would be rich again, and, in the pursuit of that object, would employ any means, however despicable, which afforded any prospect of adding to his gains. He was not very successful in heaping up riches, but won for himself, certainly, abundant infamy by his shameful life. The response of an oracle, which he consulted about this time, brought him into still greater disrepute; for, having asked if he should be more fortunate for the time to come, he was answered that he "would do better after he died." This strange prophecy

was verified not long after that. Having fallen from a certain height upon his head, he was apparently killed; but, on the third day, just as his friends were putting him into the grave, he came to life again. All of a sudden, from having been so profligate and unprincipled, he reformed and became henceforth a pattern of every virtue. His friends were astonished, and wished to know the cause of this change in his character. He related to them the following account of what befell him during the time of his supposed death.

His spirit was separated from the body, and his sensations, as that took place, were such as a person has, who is thrown suddenly into the water, and is on the point of being drowned. Recovering from this shock he seemed to breathe in every part, and to look around him on every side, his soul being opened as if it were all one eye. Instead of the familiar objects of this world, he saw at first nothing but stars of immense size, and remote from each other, shooting forth rays of light upon which his soul was borne gently and rapidly forward, as on the surface of a quiet sea. He passed over, in his narrative, many of the sights which he saw; but spoke especially of the appearance of the souls of men as they entered into that world from this, and of their condition there. On issuing from the body they assumed, at first, a shape like a globular flame; and that gently and gradually dissolving, they took then a spiritual form, having such a resemblance to the persons in this life as to admit of their being recognized by each other. The conduct of the different souls, as they arrived there, was by no means the same. Some of them, those who were good, mounted up at once, in an easy, gentle manner, into the higher regions of space, where they appeared with a serene aspect, and

testified, by abundant tokens, the happiness which they enjoyed. The wicked, on the contrary, were immediately seized with a tumultuous motion, which hurried them hither and thither, and deprived them for a time of all power of self-control.*

Among the throng of the happy, he saw the spirit of one of his relatives, though he was not entirely certain, as the person had died in childhood. This spirit came to him and attended him as a guide, in order to explain to him the different objects which he saw. He received a new name, that of Thespesius instead of Aridæus, as he had been called on earth; and he was told that he had come thither by a special permission of the gods; for he was still allied to matter, as could be seen from the dark figure which followed him; whereas the others there were transparent, and cast no shadow. But though the souls of the dead were all distinguished by this sign, they were not equally transparent; some of them exhibiting a mild, uniform splendor, like the pure lustre of the full moon; others being disfigured with stains, or slight bruises; and others still, covered with black spots, like adders, and loathsome to the sight.

* This dissimilarity in the motions of the different souls is intended no doubt to be significant of their moral state and character. Those who disengage themselves most readily from the body, and mount upward so instinctively, are the good who have subdued their passions, and from an affinity of nature seek at once the higher regions, which are most remote from matter and its contaminations. The confused motion of the others, on the contrary, who are whirled with such fury hither and thither, indicates the moral disorder of their souls. They are the wicked, who have allowed their passions to control them, who are destitute of all power of calm and considerate action. Similar views are expressed by Plato in *Tim.* 44, A.; *de Legg.* 2. 672, B, and *Tim.* 48, A.

The process of dealing with transgressors, in that world, was then explained to Thespesius. Adrasteia, or Nemesis, is the great minister of justice, who presides over this department of the divine government. Such is her power, that no one, small or great, can elude her vigilance, or defy her summons. Under her are placed three subordinate ministers or agents. The first of these is termed *Pœna*, or punishment, who executes her office mainly in the present life, and is the author of the pains and penalties which are the more immediate effects of guilt. She is active, overtakes the sinner speedily, but treats him mildly, so that much remains unremoved, from which he needs to be purified. The second is *Dike*, or justice, whose inflictions are immensely more severe, and experienced by the soul after death. She receives those who have been but partially punished in this world, and scourges them for a longer or shorter time, according to the measure of their guilt and the depth of the stains from which their souls are to be freed. But the most terrible of these ministers is *Erinnys*, or Fury, to whom it belongs to punish those who remain still incorrigible after the other appointed means of correction have been employed in vain. It is her task to consummate what the others have begun. Accordingly, she is represented as scourging her victims from place to place, inflicting on them innumerable tortures, allowing them whithersoever they flee no refuge or respite from her inappeasable rage, and finally plunging them headlong into an abyss whose horrors no language can describe.

The souls of men being there stripped of every disguise, expose to view their true color and complexion, as derived from the passions which they have been accustomed to entertain and cherish. Observe, said the guide

to Thespesius, the different hues which they exhibit. In that dark, sordid appearance, you see the taint of avarice and fraud. That sanguinary, flame-like dye betokens cruelty and vindictiveness. Those livid spots denote, that the souls disfigured by them were the slaves of sensuality and lust. The stain which appears in others, resembling so much the black fluid which the cuttle-fish discharges, is the sign of malignity and envy.

From the situation in which he saw many who had been known to him here, Thespesius was led to reflect on the false manner in which men are liable to judge of each other. Some who had been accounted very wicked in this world were found, from circumstances of palliation there brought to light for the first time, to be far less deserving of punishment, than others who had passed for very virtuous men, and been honored with the highest human praise. But nothing of this kind filled him with greater surprise and horror than to see his own father, emerging from a deep abyss, all covered with the scars and gashes of the scourging which he had received, and compelled to bear witness to its justice by confessing that he had secretly poisoned several persons, his own guests, for the sake of obtaining their gold. And he observed, in general, that none were doomed to suffer more severely, than those who had played the hypocrite in this life, having assumed the mask of virtue, merely in order to practise the vices to which they were addicted, with so much the greater success, in secret. That their punishment might exhibit a sort of conformity to their character, inasmuch as they had sinned against truth and nature, they were committed to the hands of tormentors, by whom they were compelled to turn themselves inside out, and to twist themselves, with the greatest agony of effort,

into every possible variety of unnatural shape and posture. Persons who had harbored feelings of hatred toward each other, were there seen fastened together, gnawing and devouring each other with remorseless fury.

Those who had been avaricious were subjected to a process adjusted in like manner to the nature of their sin. They are seized by demons, armed with hooks for the purpose, and thrown by them, first into a lake of boiling gold, where they are scalded and burnt; next, they are plunged into a lake of lead, exceedingly cold, where they are as suddenly congealed and frozen; and finally, into a third, of iron, where they are blackened and mutilated by being dragged over its uneven jagged surface.* Not less dreadful is the retribution which awaits guilty parents and ancestors. Their descendants, who had suffered on their account, no sooner saw them than they gathered around them and assailed them with the most hideous outcries and imprecations. If any of them attempted to escape their children still followed them with the same upbraiding voice; and frequently, when they supposed their sufferings to be almost at an end, their tormentors laid hold of them again, and dragged

* It is worth mentioning that Plutarch speaks elsewhere of an ancient well-known tradition, which represents it as one of the employments of evil demons (for some of them are good), to tempt men and render the practice of virtue difficult to them. The passage (in his life of Dion) runs thus: "That there are certain wicked and malignant demons which envy good men, and withstand their enterprises, by raising fears and troubles to them, that so they might hinder them in their pursuit of virtue, lest if they continue steadfast and immovable in good, they should be at last partakers of greater felicity than they themselves enjoy." -

them back to the ministers of justice for new punishment.

As Thespesius was passing along, he overheard a shrill voice foretelling, as he thought the day of his own death; which proceeded, as he was told, from the Sybil in the moon, who looks forth thence upon the earth, and sings the fate of its inhabitants, as she revolves around it.

The last spectacle which Thespesius saw, was the place where the souls of those about to enter, by transmigration, on a new existence, were undergoing the changes necessary to fit them for the shapes they were to assume. Here, among others, he saw the soul of Nero, who, in addition to other torments, had been transfixed with red-hot nails. The artificer at work upon him was on the point of making him into a viper, as agreeing best with his disposition; but, in consideration of his merit in restoring to the Greeks their freedom, it was concluded to mitigate his doom and transform him (in allusion, it is supposed, to his musical propensities) into a frog, or possibly a swan.

In the effect which this singular experience is represented as having had in leading Thespesius to reform his life, we may discover Plutarch's opinion in regard to the moral use to which the myth (if that be its name) should be applied. He would hold up to men this doctrine of a coming retribution as a motive to living virtuously here on the earth, since whatever impunity the wicked may enjoy for the present, they are hastening to a scene where the awards of their conduct will be meted out to them with strict justice.

EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT.

CHAP. I. l. 1. (Page 18.) *Τοιαῦτα μὲν, κ.τ.λ.* Some infer, from the abrupt opening of the discussion, that the beginning of the treatise has been lost. It is unnecessary to suppose this, or, with Wyttenbach, that we have here the sequel or second part of a discourse against the Epicureans, which has not been preserved. It is an artifice of the writer to give greater dramatic vivacity to the dialogue. The *Gorgias* of Plato, in like manner, implies a previous scene. And a somewhat similar abruptness characterizes the introductions of Homer and other genuine works of art:

. . . in medias res
Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit . . .

2. *τῆς στοᾶς*, sc. of the temple at Delphi, where the scene is laid. Cf. 21, 24, and the Argument, p. 65.

3. *ᾤχετο ἀπὼν*, *hastened away*. The verb and participle are often combined thus, with an augmentation of the idea, viz., that of earnestness, abruptness, haste. So Hoogeveen and Zeune; see also Viger, p. 449. Cf. C. 637; H. 698; K. 310, 4, 1.*—*ἴσον τι θαυμάσαι*, *only long enough to wonder somewhat*. Cf. C. 628; H. 814.

5. *διαβλέψας*. After looking *intently*—such is the force of the preposition.

7. *τί οὖν* serves to awaken attention to the question which follows. *What then*, i. e., shall we do in this case? What is the conclusion? *Do you think it best to waive the inquiry, or should we answer*, etc.

* These references are to the Grammars of Crosby and Hadley, and the School Grammar of Kühner, translated by Edwards and Taylor. When reference is made to Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, it will be so specified.

7. *πρῶτος* means *first* of the party to speak, while *πρῶτον* would be *first* before doing anything else. See Jelf's Gr. Gram. § 714, Obs. 8.

8. *παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος* means essentially *whether present or not present*, but with *καὶ* marks the two cases more strongly as one and the same, as to the duty of the listeners to reply at once to the mischievous harangue. Lobeck's note ad Phryn. p. 754, may be cited here: "Oppositio *παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος* declarat, prorsus nihil interesse, utrum ille adsit an absit. His formulis, *εἴτε παρὼν εἴτε ἀπών, ζῶν καὶ θανών, ζῶντες καὶ νεκροί*, crebra consuetudine tantum de potestate sua detritum est, ut postremo etiam tunc usurpentur, ubi mortui aut absentes nulli intelligi possunt."

10. *Ἄλλ' οὐδ' εἰ βαλὼν, κ.τ.λ.* It will be seen that the reasoning here partakes of the nature of the conclusion *a minore ad majus*. It is of infinitely greater importance that we should guard against attacks on our virtue and principles, than against those which are aimed merely against our persons. If, therefore, no one would be indifferent in a case which threatened his life merely, if he would at once draw forth the weapon which an enemy had plunged into his body, how much more should he see to it, that he does not suffer the pernicious sentiments which the advocates of a false philosophy would infuse into his mind, to lodge there, and to spread their baneful influence over his soul. The *ἀλλά* is represented as strengthening, in such cases, the *οὐδέ*, *immo ne quidem, not even indeed*. The expression occurs in the same way, Luke xxiii. 15; Acts xix. 2; 1 Cor. iii. 2. For the omission of *ἄν* with *εἴχε* in the conclusion, cf. C. 605, 4; K. 260, R. 3; H. 746, b.

12. *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βρασίδας, κ.τ.λ.* Brasidas was a distinguished Spartan general, who fought against the Athenians in Thrace during the Peloponnesian war. In another of his treatises, (Apophth. Lacon. 219, C.), Plutarch states more fully the circumstance to which allusion is here made. In a certain battle, Brasidas, "having been pierced through the shield, and drawing out the spear from the wound, slew the enemy with the same weapon; and, when asked how he had been wounded, said,

'My shield betrayed me.'" This brave commander was slain at last in the moment of victory, at Amphipolis in Macedonia, the place of that name through which the Apostle Paul passed on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (Acts xvi. 1.)—ὡς εἰκεν is a phrase that Plutarch often uses, and may generally be rendered *ut perhibent, ut fertur*, i. e., *as they say, as is related*. See Viger, p. 347.

14. ἡμῶν δ' ἀμύνασθαι . . . ἐκβάλλωμεν. The probable rendering of these words is, *But it is not necessary for us certainly to have revenge on those who have directed an absurd or false discourse against us, but it is sufficient for them, if we expel the sentiment before it has fastened itself upon us*. To understand οὐδὲν ἔργον with the Latin translator in the sense of *nullo negotio*, it is not difficult for us, is to disregard the distinction assumed to exist between οὐδὲν ἔργον with the genitive and with the dative. αὐτοῖς is referred by some to ἐκβάλλωμεν as a sort of pleonastic dative, which is unnecessary, and certainly not favored by the position. Some, as Wytttenbach, for the sake of an easier grammatical dependence, would change the breathing so as to read αὐτοῖς, but it may be justified as it stands as *dativus incommoði*. δήπου gives the sentence a tone of greater certainty and decision. It is found in the New Testament only in Heb. ii. 16, and with the same force as here. The figurative coloring of the sentence, as it appears particularly in ἀφέντας—ἀψασθαι—ἐκβάλλωμεν, is derived manifestly from the illustration which precedes. The sense is: the conduct of Brasidas shows how men feel when their lives are in danger, and teaches, *a fortiori*, how they should act when their moral principles are assailed. His example, however, so far as it relates to the manner in which he treated his enemy, we are not of course to imitate. We should feel that we have a sufficient revenge upon those who would impair our confidence in the truth, if we can defeat their object by promptly exposing their arguments and counteracting the impression which they might otherwise produce on our minds.

18. ἀσπρά πολλά = *multa simul*. Greek writers, Plato especially, often combine these words in this sense. They are the direct object of κατεφόρει, which here takes after it the unusual

construction of an accusative and a genitive. *σπαράττων* is properly said of dogs mangling and tearing in pieces. It sets in a strong light the irrational and mad folly of the unbelieving Epicurean. Like a mad dog he *tore in pieces* whatever came in his way, and *at the same time* (*ἅμα*) *hurled it at providence*. For *ἅμα*, with a participle and verb, see O. 616, a; H. 795, c; K. 812, R. 6.

II. 8. (P. 14.) τὰς τιμωρίας. The several punishments or penalties due to their sins. Hence the plural.

δ. καὶ νῦν καινός, *and now under the influence of these remarks, I have become, as it were, a fresh proselyte to the opinion, and now*, i. e. in the altered views which he has now been brought to entertain. There are two explanations of the meaning of τῇ δόξῃ in this passage. One is, that it refers to the opinion of those who vindicated the delay of Providence in the punishment of the wicked, and that Patrocleas, although before inclined to the views of the Epicureans on the subject, had been led to renounce them from the very absurdity of the arguments which he had just heard offered in their support. The other is, that it refers to the opinion of the Epicureans, and that Patrocleas means to say, that he had been so much impressed by what had been urged in their behalf, that he is constrained to declare himself a convert to their doctrine. Perhaps the latter of these interpretations is to be preferred, since instead of imposing, like the other, a new sense on τῇ δόξῃ, it assigns to it the same meaning which it manifestly has just before, in the clause πρὶν ἀψάσθαι τὴν δόξαν; and further, because it seems to agree better with the tone with which Patrocleas utters what follows, which is expressed too earnestly for a person who is merely recapitulating the difficulties and objections of others.—*πρόσφατος* is found in Heb. x. 20, where it has a secondary sense similar to that here. Its first etymological meaning is *newly slain, fresh*, as in II. xxiv. 757.—*καινός, new*, just brought to the opinion avowed, in distinction from having long entertained it—"nunc primum a me cognoscebatur." Wytténb.

7. ἀκούων Εὐριπίδου λέγοντος, viz. in his tragedy of Orestes, v. 420. The line cited contains the answer of Orestes to the in-

quiry of Menelaus, whether Apollo will not assist him in his misfortunes. For the construction of the accusative in *ῥαθύμους ὄντας*, see C. 638; H. 792; K. 312, 5.

14. τὸ ἀμύνασθαι ὡς Θουκυδίδης. The reference is to Thucydides III. 88. The sentiment occurs in the speech of Cleon in support of his decree to put to death the adult citizens of Mitylene and to enslave the women and children for having attempted to throw off the Athenian yoke.—καὶ μάλιστα l. 15, ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω here, and ἐπιπλεῖστον in the next clause, illustrate some of the different ways in which the Greeks strengthened the superlative of adjectives and adverbial expressions. K. 289, R. 2; C. 525, N.; H. 664.—τῷ παθεῖν is dative after ἐγγυτάτω, C. 399; K. 284, 3. The same word is followed by the genitive, below, p. 20, l. 11, where see note.

17. Οὐδέν is a later form for οὐδέν.—τὸ τῆς δίκης, sc. χρέος. Punishment is very often represented as the *debt* of justice, or the penalty due to it, particularly in the tragic poets. So in the Lord's Prayer, we pray: forgive us our *debts*, that is, remit the penalty due to our sins.

23. ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ, κ.τ.λ. the remark of Bias also offends me, i. e., as well as the sentiment of Euripides before noticed.

1. (P. 15.) ἐπίδῃ, live to see it, see note, l. 14.

2. Ἀριστοκράτους . . . τὴν ἐπὶ Τάφρῳ μάχην. Aristocrates was a king of Arcadia,* who at first assisted the Messenians in the war against Sparta, but was afterwards bribed, and betrayed his allies into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. He was dethroned and stoned to death by his own subjects.

3. ἐνὶ Τάφρῳ has been substituted here by the later editors for ἐπὶ Κύπρῳ, although the latter is the acknowledged reading in all the older editions and MSS. The change was supposed to be necessary, in order to free the passage from an important historical difficulty. Pausanias, who has related the facts alluded to more minutely than any other ancient writer (Paus. iv. 17. 22), represents the battle which the Messenians lost through the

* So Plutarch here, and other testimonies: but Thirlwall says, he was more probably king of Orchomenus, (vol. 1. p. 362.)

treachery and desertion of Aristocrates, as fought at a place which he denominates *μεγάλη Τάφρος*. The correction harmonizes perfectly the two accounts, but, further than this, is wholly unsupported and arbitrary. It is not improbable that Plutarch wrote in the first instance *Κάπρος*, and that this, by an oversight which might very easily arise from the similarity of the words, was subsequently changed to *Κύπρος*. Pausanias states that the Messenians, a short time before their defeat at Taphros, had obtained a signal victory over the Lacedaemonians at a place called *Κάπρου σῆμα*, or the Boar's Pillar, and hence it would seem that Plutarch either followed some different authority from Pausanias or, as Reiske conjectures, confounded these two battles with each other.

6. *Ὀρχομενίων ὑπὸ Λυκίσκου*. Of this Lyciscus and his treachery we have no further information. Orchomenus was the name of several ancient cities: of one in Thessaly (Hoff. p. 337*), of another in Arcadia (p. 1139), and still another in Boeotia (p. 565). It is impossible, from the obscurity of the allusion, to say which of them is here meant.

12. *Τὰς μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνησι, κ.τ.λ.* It is disputed, whether we should understand this as a new illustration, or as a continuation of the case of Lyciscus. If the former, the *γὰρ* must be taken as coördinate with that in the sentence *εἰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίους*, etc., and the passage would most naturally refer to the act of the Athenians in disinterring the bones of Megacles and his followers and casting them out of the country as a pollution, on account of the unlawful means which they had used for suppressing the conspiracy of Cylon and his adherents. See further in Note Chap. VII. *infra*. The circumstances are related by Herodotus, V. 71, and more fully by Thucydides, I. 126. The punish-

* The reference is to Hoffmann's *Griechenland und die Griechen im Alterthum*, etc., Leipzig, 1841. In what relates to the topography and history of places, so far as those mentioned here are embraced within the limits of his work, I have depended chiefly on his authority. Dr. Smith's *Dictionaries of Geography and Biography* had not been published at that time (1844). The student who has those works within reach will do well to consult them on the names of persons and places which occur in the treatise.

ment inflicted in this case was not delayed so long, it is true, as Plutarch has here represented; but as he is not always exact in his allusions of this nature, the discrepancy would not seem to be a sufficient reason for rejecting the above explanation. Wyttenbach, however, mainly on the ground of the anachronism, proposes to connect the passage with what immediately precedes, and suggests that Lyciscus may have fled to Athens with some of his accomplices after the perpetration of their crime, and that the Athenians, on discovering their guilt many years after their death, dug up their bones and threw them out beyond their borders as those of persons whose memory was accursed.

14. ἐπιθεῖν, *to look upon, to live to see*. This word is employed uniformly, though not always, as some have said, when the events spoken of are serious or calamitous in their nature. See II. x. 61; Plat. Gorg. 473, C, Woolsey's ed. p. 42. It is, therefore, a more appropriate word here than the simple ἰδεῖν, which is the reading in some editions, and has besides important MS. authority in its favor.

17. Οὔτοι προσελθοῦσ', κ.τ.λ. The tragedy of Euripides which contained these lines has been lost. The same fragment is preserved also in Stobæus (Ecl. phys. et eth. p. 9), but with verbal differences.—μὴ τρέσῃς. In dehortatory commands and prohibitions expressed by μὴ, the Greeks employ the imperative present when the action is thought of as already begun and the design is to arrest it; but the subjunctive aorist when the object is merely to forbid, in general, that it should be done. C. 598; K. 289, 5; H. 723. The New Testament Greek invariably observes this distinction. See Matt. i. 20; vi. 7; Mark x. 19; Acts vii. 60; x. 15; Col. ii, 21, etc.; Comp. Winer, § 60. 1.

21. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα δήπου, κ.τ.λ. *For with no other considerations, forsooth, but just these, it is natural for the wicked to exhort and encourage themselves to undertake, etc.*

23. ὡς τῆς ἀδικίας, κ.τ.λ. When in Greek the writer or speaker would assign a reason, which exists in the mind of another as the ground of some act or opinion imputed to him, the construction for this purpose is usually as here, ὡς, *because*, or ὥστερ, *as if*, with the genitive or accusative absolute. In a full expression of

the thought we should supply after *ὥς*, *they suppose, they say*, or something similar. See C. 640; H. 795, e; K. 312, C. The sense is, that men encourage themselves with the hope of impunity in their wickedness, because the punishment of it is frequently so long delayed, and the time of its infliction so uncertain. In other words, as the sacred Preacher has expressed it, Eccl. viii. 11, "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." See to the same effect Ps. x. 13.

III. 2. *Ἐκεῖνο* here calls attention, emphatically, to another and an additional consideration: *Observe too this other point*. The neuters *ταῦτα* and *τοῦτο* are more frequently employed in this way. So Demos. Phil. I. 12: *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο*.

5. *παρ' ἑκάστον ἀδίκημα*, *at the time of each unrighteous act*. So below, l. 16: *καθ' ἑκάστον*.

18. *σπαργαμοὶ . . . περιψοφήσεις*. "*ἀνακρούειν ἵππον* dicitur eques qui equum freno retrahit, ut notat Pollux 1, 211. *Σπαργαμός* est crebra et vehemens freni retractatio. *Περιψοφήσεις* est sibilus, qui alias *πομπυσμός* vocatur." Wyttenb. Instead of this sense of *σπαργαμός*, it may be better to understand with others *beatings, lacerations*, as with a whip, scourge, or club. The word is thus more clearly distinguished from *ἀνακρούσεις*, and a reference also is then made to a mode of correction in the case, which we should expect to find not omitted.

18. *μόλις ἂν γένοιτο*. If *μόλις* may be rendered here *at length, eventually*, the meaning is plain. If we adhere to its usual signification, we may suppose the idea in the writer's mind to have been this: *hardly, with difficulty*, would the vicious man be reformed, even if his sins were followed by an immediate retribution, and therefore much less, if a long interval be suffered to pass between his crime and its punishment. Perhaps a union of the two senses, *vix tandem, at length with difficulty*, should be admitted here. Comp. Stallb. on Plat. Protag. 348, C.

22. *ὥς ἔτυχεν*, and in like manner *ὅπως ἔτυχεν*, are often used adverbially = *fortuito, temere*, i. e., accidentally, at random. Viger, p. 303.

23. *μᾶλλον*, ἢ τῷ κατὰ, κ.τ.λ. *ὅμοιον* connects itself with *μᾶλλον*, which qualifies it and converts it into a comparative. This comparative is followed by ἢ κατὰ (ἢ πρὸς would be the same), instead of the genitive, because the objects compared are the qualities of the substantives, and not directly the substantives themselves. In Latin *quam pro* would be used in such a case. ἢ τῷ κατὰ πρόνοιαν means, *than would be expected of Providence*. See examples of this idiom in Matth. Gr. Gram. § 449, c. The reader will observe the fondness of our author for the use of the article with the participle in place of the abstract noun: τὸ πεπλανημένον, τὸ λυποῦν, l. 15, τὸ δέον, l. 12, τὸ παρηγοροῦν, p. 14, l. 23, etc. The use of the article with the adjective, τὸ ὑπερήμερον, etc., is peculiar only in its frequency.

25. τοῖς ὀψέ . . . μύλοις τῶν θεῶν. Sextus Empiricus has preserved to us a line from an ancient unknown poet, which contains the sentiment to which Olympicus objects:

Ὅψι θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά.

The millstones of the gods grind late, but grind fine. Our poet, Longfellow, has put the striking aphorism into verse:

“Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all.”

IV. 1. (P. 17.) κἄμου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄντος, *and while I was absorbed in my own reflections*. *ἑαυτοῦ* is sometimes used as a general reflexive, without respect to person. O. 506; H. 672; K. 302, 8. Plutarch himself is here the speaker, and he sustains the principal part throughout the dialogue.

5. δεῖ τὸ τρίτον . . . κύμα. This seems to have been a common mode of speaking to signify, to assail with the last difficulties, to press an opponent with the arguments which have the greatest weight, and which are to overwhelm him with their overpowering force. Plato has expressed himself in a similar manner, Rep. 5, 472, A; Euthyd. 293, A. The origin of the figure is not certain. Some say it is derived from the situation of vessels in a storm, which are covered with one wave

after another, till at length they are overwhelmed and sunk. In this case, the expression, *third wave*, would be used indefinitely, *i. e.*, a wave repeated any number of times. Passow suggests another explanation on the word *τρικυμία*, which he defines, "a threefold and hence very great wave; or more correctly, the third wave, which on some coasts is said to be regularly greater and more dangerous than the two preceding, which in other regions is affirmed of the tenth, the *fluctus decumanus* of the Romans." See also Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*

7. Πρώτον . . . ἀποσιωσόμεθα. *In the first place, therefore, beginning as from ancestral Vesta, (as the saying is,) to wit, the reverence of the Academic philosophers towards the Deity, let us avoid the impiety of discoursing on such subjects with a confident tone.* The phrase, ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι, signifies to commence at the foundation, to begin at the proper beginning. This sense it derived, it is commonly said, from its being customary for the Greeks to regard the first oblations as sacred always to Vesta; and hence they began, or were bound to begin, their religious rites on all occasions with the worship of this goddess. Comp. Stallb. on Plat. Cratyl. 401, B. This was to commence at the fountain-head, to go back to the source, from which all should proceed. If we read, as some prefer in this expression, ἀφ' Ἑστίας . . . παρπάς, *ancestral hearth or home*, the general idea is the same, with a change merely of the allusion. The epithet *παρπάς* has both a historical and an argumentative force—the former as implying that Plutarch and his friends claimed to be in their philosophy in the line of regular descent from the ancient Platonic sect, and the latter as suggesting that they were therefore bound in consistency to manifest the same spirit. The trait in the philosophy of the Academics, to which Plutarch refers, *i. e.*, their restriction of reason to its proper sphere in matters of religion, is abundantly illustrated in the writings of Plato. In Cratyl. 400, D, he says, in the person of Socrates, *If we were wise, we should consider it the most becoming course for us to confess, that we know nothing concerning the gods, either their essential nature, or the names by which they call themselves.* To the same effect see *ibid.* 407, D, 425, C; Theact. 112, C.

The ordinary definition of ἀποσιῶσαι, by *aversari*, *repudiare*, is much too feeble. It signifies, to reject a thing as impious, to shrink from it with religious horror. This idea presents itself naturally also from the etymology. What the speaker would say, therefore, to expand the thought, is: Let us take our departure here from the true point, and that is, to confess at the outset how ignorant we are, and how incompetent to sit in judgment on the designs of Providence. Instead of such presumption, let us imitate rather the caution of our predecessors, the philosophers of the Academy, who have set us here so proper an example of the modesty with which such inquiries should be undertaken. Let us shrink from it as not merely unbecoming, but actually irreverent and impious, to set up our own reason as a test of the divine wisdom and rectitude. The parallels to this sentiment in Scripture are very numerous. Comp. Deut. xxix. 29; Job ix. 10; xi. 7; Ps. xcii. 6; cxlv. 3; Isa. xl. 18, 14; lv. 8, 9; Rom. xi. 83, 84; 1 Cor. iii. 18.

13. τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια πράγματα, *things pertaining to God and providence*. Θεῖα as distinguished from δαιμόνια is more generic: Θεῖα = things pertaining to the gods in general; δαιμόνια more specifically things pertaining to the providence of the gods. So θεοί = gods in general; δαίμονες = inferior deities, and hence providence, for it was the inferior deities that were especially charged with the providential care and government of this lower world.

15. Οὐ γὰρ ἱατροῦ, κ.τ.λ. The οὐ here denies not the statement in the first member, but the proposition in the second, or rather the sentiment of the whole sentence: *it is not true, that, while on the one hand it is difficult for one unacquainted with medicine to comprehend the reason why the physician, etc., in reference to the deity, on the other hand, it is easy to say, etc.* Plato is fond of sentences constructed in the same way. See Gorg. 512, and Woolsey's note *ad loc.*

21. κόλασιν. Plutarch seems to recognize Aristotle's distinction between κόλασις and τιμωρία, viz., that the former is for the sake of him who suffers punishment, while the latter is for the sake of him who inflicts it. Aris. Rhet. 1, 10. Plato also, when he

speaks of punishment as the *medicine* of the soul, uses *κολάζεσθαι*, but when with more particular reference to the divine government, *τιμωρεῖσθαι*. See Gorg. 478; cf. 525, B. And this accords with the etymology of the words, *κόλασις* = pruning, restraint; *τιμωρία* = vindication, vengeance. But either may be used as a general word for punishment. And so in the New Testament. Compare Mat. xxv. 46, and Heb. x. 29. As a general word for punishment, Plutarch most frequently uses the noun *τιμωρία* and the verb *κολάζειν*.

23. ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰατρεία. Stallbaum in his note on Gorgias 478, D, intimates that Plutarch has here imitated Plato in that passage. The same idea is found there and in several other places, but perhaps nowhere so fully as in Sophist. 229 sq.

26. ἀριστοτέχνην ἀνακαλούμενος is an expression of Pindar which seems to have been a favorite one with Plutarch, for he quotes it frequently in his writings, but from some work of the poet which has not reached us.

3. (P. 18.) ταύτης φησὶ . . . ὁ Πλάτων. In this manner, with some freedom of construction, Plato interprets Odys. xix. 174 sq. in Minoë 319, D, and Legg. 1. 624, A. In allusion to the same comment, Plutarch remarks in another of his works: "We read that Homer denominates Minos the companion of Jupiter, that is, as Plato says, his pupil and disciple." It was the fashion at this time to explain the mythology of the poets as allegorical.

4. υἱὸν ὄντα, *although being a son*.—*Μίνω* is the accusative of the Attics, for which the other Greeks generally wrote *Μίνων* or *Μίνωα*.

8. ἀπλῶς, *obviously, at first sight*.

9. κομιδῇ, lit. with care, anxiety, hence *much, very*.

12. μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα. This singular law, forbidding young men to wear mustaches, Plutarch mentions also in his life of Cleomenes (c. 9), and assigns there as the object of it, that it was to teach the young that they must obey the magistrates in the most trifling things. A law or command in a matter in itself of trifling importance may be the very best test of the spirit of obedience. Perhaps this may be, in part, the reason why the prohibition laid upon our first parents related to a matter in itself apparently so unimportant.

13. *ῥωμαῖοι . . . σώμασιν*. This refers to the manumission *per vindictam* as practised by the Romans, on the liberation of a slave. *κάρφος* was the rod or staff with which the Praetor touched the body, the head usually, of the slave who was to be freed. See Horat. Sat. II. 7, 76—7. This is the word which occurs in so different a sense in Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5, and Luke vi. 41, 42. "And why beholdest thou the mote (*κάρφος*) that is in thy brother's eye," etc. The significations are legitimately related however; for the word denotes properly a *dry twig, chip, straw*, etc., and may be used of objects of this nature, whether larger or smaller.

15. *διαθήκας . . . οὐσίας*. This refers to the *testamentum per aes et libram*, as it was technically called. It was essential to the validity of a will made in this way, that the testator, in the presence of witnesses, should first make an imaginary sale of his property to some person, who was termed in Roman law *familiae emptor*. This formality is supposed to have been intended to show that the testator had acted deliberately and intelligently in the disposal of his estate, and thus served as his attestation of all that was contained in the will.

16. *ἄριμος . . . συστασιόσυντα*. This term *ἄριμος* is employed here, not in its ordinary, but in a legal and technical sense. It was applied to a person who had forfeited wholly, or in part, the rights and privileges of a citizen, and become, as it were, outlawed. The condition of a person who had incurred this loss, or the act of subjecting him to it, was called *ἀριμία*. *Infamis* and *infamia* were employed in a similar way by the Romans. *ἐπίριμος*, on the contrary, denoted one in full possession of the rights and immunities of citizenship. The extent of the *ἀριμία*, or amount of civil deprivation which it involved, depended on the nature of the offence, for which it was inflicted. See Hermann's *Polit. Antiq. of Greece*, § 124; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* pp. 512—16. In his life of Solon (c. 20), Plutarch speaks of the same law which is mentioned here, and in that connection resolves the probable ground of it, on the part of the legislator, into a desire to promote among the Athenians as active an interest as possible in the affairs of the state. Neutrality, in a

time of civil commotion, would proceed, most probably, according to the view of Solon, from an indifference to the public welfare, or a selfishness in being unwilling to take sides in the conflict, from which more danger was to be apprehended to the commonwealth, than from the occasional excesses of party, or the evils of sedition itself.

V. 2. (P. 19.) ἀποβλέπων. Observe the force of the preposition: looking *off*, or *away*. This passage well illustrates the use of ἀφορῶντες, Heb. xii. 2: looking *off* from themselves and earthly reliances to *Jesus*.

2. εὐχαρασίστερον . . . ἀπορίαν. "Plutarchi hæc est mens —ut probabilitate freta atque suffulta nostra oratio, animosa se contra difficultates quaestionis, erigere possit." Wytténb.

4. κατὰ Πλάτωνα. The sentiment here ascribed to Plato is not found, in so many words, in any passage of his writings, but is consonant with what he has taught in various places. This mode of quotation is not uncommon in Plutarch, nor is it unnatural in any writer. It should not have excited so much surprise, that the writers of the New Testament have often alluded, in like manner, to passages as existing in the Old Testament, which are not found there verbally, but in sense only. The duty of resemblance to God as the standard and pattern of excellence is often inculcated in the Scriptures (Matt. v. 45; Eph. iv. 24 and v. 1.)

8. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πάντων φύσις, κ.τ.λ. This is to be understood, no doubt, in accordance with the celebrated passage in Plat. Tim. 30, A; the sense of which is, that *the Deity, wishing, as far as possible, that all things should be good, but nothing bad, produced the present order of nature, from a state of previous confusion. The visible elements, which before were not fixed, but floating tumultuously hither and thither, he arrested and combined in the manner in which they now appear.* Few passages were so often cited by ancient writers as this. Stallbaum (v. 7, p. 120) says upon it: "Respexerunt ad hunc locum, Plutarch. Symp. 1, p. 615, F; Defect. Orac. p. 480, E; De Sera Num. Vind. p. 18; Philo, t. 2, p. 867 et 897; eundem recitavit integrum Themistius, p. 8, ed. Dind.; Plotin. Enn. 4. 8. 1, et p. 372, D, p.

397, D." Pythagoras had taught the same doctrine before Plato. Plutarch refers to it here, apparently, to show that there is nothing extravagant in speaking of human virtue as kindred to that of the Deity. It would be in fact the mere exemplification of a general law; since all things which exist in nature, having their origin in that idea or archetype of the Deity, according to which he exerts his creative energy, partake necessarily of his similitude, and reflect his image.*

9. *κόσμος*, which, at the time Plutarch wrote, had become almost synonymous with *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, reverts here, manifestly, to its earlier philosophical sense, *i. e.*, the world as the product of a skilful designer, as full of beauty and order in its construction and arrangements. Bentley (Opusc. Philol. p. 347, 445, as cited by Passow) has shown that Pythagoras was the first to employ the term in this sense. It was unknown in this signification to Homer, and the nearest approach to it in any of the older Greek writers, appears in their occasional use of it to denote the starry firmament, on account of its beauty and splendor. The expression of Xenophon, Mem. 1. 1, 11: *ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος*, shows that even in his time this sense of the word was still a usage of the learned, rather than of common life. After this, it appears to have become gradually the popular signification, so as even to have dropped aside the peculiar idea, from which the new application arose.

11. *αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ*, *he, the very same man*, *i. e.*, the one just mentioned. Wytttenbach, from a feeling of strangeness in relation to the Greek of this expression, has questioned its correctness, and proposed to substitute *αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ*. The legitimacy of the phrase, however, is now admitted. We have here also an instance in which Plutarch has given the sense of Plato

* These points which the passage involves, relating to the cosmogony and ideology of Plato, it would be impossible to develop further in a note. Those who would pursue the inquiry, can see, out of Plato, the *Timæus* in particular, (a) Ritter's Hist. of Anc. Philos. v. 2, c. 4; (b) Tennemann's Gesch. d. Philos. B. 2, S. 394; (c) Rixner's Gesch. d. Philos. B. 1, § 105; (d) Krug's HW. d. philosoph. Wissen. B. 3, S. 225 ff.; (e) Upham's Philos. c. 1, § 29; (f) Knapp's Theol. v. 1, p. 331; (g) Henry's Epit. of the Hist. of Philos. v. 1, p. 138.

in several places, but not the language of any particular passage. Plutarch's fondness for *pairs* of words more or less nearly synonymous, is strikingly exhibited throughout this sentence. Demosthenes frequently indulges in the same usage, and Tacitus, who belongs to the same period with Plutarch, carries it to the same excess that he does.

26. *Πηδῶν ὁ θυμός, κ.τ.λ.* The later editors recognize this as a Greek senarius, and accordingly distinguish it from the text, as a quotation. It is attributed to Euripides, but on grounds which are very uncertain.—Melanthius, author of the line which is next cited, was one of the later tragic writers at Athens. But little remains from him, and that is chiefly valuable as showing the rapid decline of his art, after the time of Euripides. Plutarch quotes the same line again in his treatise on Anger.

4. (P. 20.) *τὸν ἥκιστα . . . συμβουλευόν, taking counsel of the time that will be least likely to bring repentance*, that is, waiting for so much time to elapse that there will be little room for regret, before we inflict the punishment.

9. *ἐμφορεῖσθαι . . . σώματος*. The first genitive here is to be construed with the verb before it (which has this power of government after the analogy of *ἐσθίειν*, Rost, p. 531), and the second with *τιμωρίας*. The forbearance which Socrates meant to inculcate by this saying, was intended, no doubt, to be of universal obligation; and is limited, as to the terms employed, to kindred and relatives, because, from the associations of life, they are most liable to suffer from the violence of the irascible and passionate.

11. *ἐγγυάρῳ* is here followed by the genitive, though in the citation of the same passage, p. 14, l. 11, it is constructed with the dative. Plutarch therefore makes no distinction between the two constructions. Most frequently, in such constructions, the genitive denotes inward or spiritual, and the dative outward, resemblance. Compare Plato's use of *ἀντίστροφον* with the dative in reference to the body, Gorg. 464, B, and with the genitive in reference to the soul, 465, E. For *ἐγγύς* with the genitive, see O. 394; H. 589; K. 279. R. 9.

21. Ἀρχύτας. See a similar story told of Plato and Archytas in Plutarch de Ed. Lib. 14.

24. οὐδέν . . . ἀλλ' ἤ. Of. C. 671, 2; H. 508, 6; K. 322, R.

10. Compare also note, Plat. Apol., Tyler's Ed., p. 113.

4. (P. 21.) ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. The future is conceived of as the storehouse in which the punishment is laid up, κατατιθέμενον. So Rom. ii. 5: Ξησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὄργην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς.

5. εὐλαβεῖς. The genuine Greek sense of this word may be observed from the use of it here. In the New Testament, on the contrary, it always signifies *fearful towards God, devout, pious*, a Hebraistic meaning, of which no example has yet been produced from the classics. See Luke ii. 25; Acts ii. 5; viii. 2.

8. τῷ μὲν κολάζειν requires us to supply in thought ταχύ, or some such word, as the antithesis of βραδέως in the next clause. The question manifestly is not in regard to the infliction or omission of punishment, but whether it should be immediate, instead of being delayed for a time.

VI. 15. τὸν θεὸν . . . προσιζάνειν, *it is reasonable to conclude that the Deity, in the case of a diseased soul which he would visit with punishment, perceives clearly its passions, whether still flexible they incline at all to repentance, and that he allots time at least for reformation to those whose vice has not become unrestrained and incorrigible.* So it would seem necessary to read the passage, if we accept the text which the MSS. offer. Critics suspect, however, that something may have fallen out, which would have changed the dependence of the infinitive in the latter part of the sentence. Both the active force and the meaning here assigned to προσιζάνειν are to be justified from necessity rather than usage. The simple ιζάνειν has an accusative object, II. XXIII. 258; but it is not common.

20. ὁσπρ μοῖραν, κ.τ.λ. The view of Plutarch here respecting the origin of the human soul was adopted by him, probably, from the philosophy of Plato. The soul, as he teaches, is in its first derivation a part of the divine nature—is entirely distinct from the body, and not only survives its dissolution, but existed in another state before its connection with the body in the present life. The union of the soul with matter he regarded as an

imperfection, and as a punishment for sin committed before man is begotten or born into the world. This idea of preëxistence passed over from Plato to the later Jewish writers, ex. gr., Philo. (de Somn. 1, p. 592, ed. Mang.). The reader will find also a singular trace of that belief in one of the Old Testament apocryphal books, viz., The Wisdom of Solomon (viii. 19, 20). Several of the early Christian Fathers, also, as Justin Martyr, Origen, and others, entertained this dogma of Platonism, though modified in some respects as their views of Christian doctrine seemed to require. That part of the Platonic theory which relates to a previous contamination of the soul by sin, is not distinctly affirmed, it will be seen, in this passage of Plutarch.*

28. ἐξαρτεῖ . . . φθειρόμενον. The author here, as often elsewhere in his writings, recognizes fully the corruption of human nature, but, in thus deriving its origin from an external source, has forgotten apparently his own explanation of the matter in another place. In a passage of his treatise, de recte Aud. c. 2, he observes in substance as follows: "The passions of men which impel them to self-indulgence, and which are the sources of innumerable sufferings and disorders, spring up as indigenous products in the soul. They are not introduced from without, or insinuated by the corrupt discourse of others. They are such as to require every mode of counteraction which the wisest instruction or the most careful discipline can apply; and the man whose nature is not subdued by these means, is likely to become wilder than an untamed beast."†

* It should be mentioned, indeed, that all the authorities do not concur in ascribing it to Plato himself. Münscher (Dogmengeschichte, B. 1, § 86. 9) represents it as an addition to the preëxistent theory of this philosopher, which originated with Origen. There seems to be an obscurity in his statements on this point, which leave it essentially a question of interpretation whether he entertained it or not. The passages in which he is supposed to declare himself most explicitly on the subject, are Timæus, 41, A—42, E, and 90, E—92, A. See, in addition to the above, Hahn's *LB. des christlichen Glaubens*, S. 339, with the references there given, and Knapp's *Theol. v. 1*, p. 415.

† The student who would see other passages of the same import in the ancient writers, will find them cited in Hahn, *LB. des christlichen Glaubens*, SS. 359—60; Tholuck, *Lehre von der Sünde*, SS. 42—3, ed. 1839; and Knapp's *Theol. v. 2*, pp. 16, 17.

2. (P. 22.) *συνεῖναι μετὰ πονηρίας*. This may be compared with such phrases as *συνεῖναι νόσῳ*—*λιμῷ*—*ὄνειρῳ*, which are not uncommon, and nearly equivalent to *νοσεῖν*, *λιμῶσκειν*, *ὀνειρώττειν*, to be sick, to hunger, to dream. Plato brings out with great distinctness the doctrine that it is no benefit to the wicked man to preserve and prolong his life, since if he continues to live wickedly he must needs live wretchedly, and the greatest curse that could be inflicted on him would be to make him immortal in his wickedness. Gorg. 512, B; 481 seq.

8. *ἡ καὶ τρόπος ὀνομάσθη, κ.τ.λ.* *For which reason the changeable nature of it* (sc. of human character) *received the name of τρόπος and ἥθος, as habit for the most part forms it* (puts it on as a garment), *and laying hold exerts a controlling power over it.* The Greek *τρόπος* is analogous to our expression "turn of mind," and *ἥθος* (whence our *ethics*) to our manners, morals, as derived from the Latin *mores*. Great moral lessons may be learned from the history of such words.

16. *εἰ δὲ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . γέ.* After a hypothetical clause, *ἀλλὰ* has the sense of *yet, nevertheless*. Viger, p. 471. So in the New Testament: 1 Cor. ix. 2; 2 Cor. xi. 6; xiii. 4. *γέ* emphasises the truth of the proposition in respect to the examples which follow: *at least, certainly*. *γέ* often accompanies *ἀλλὰ* in this manner, and is properly separated from it, as here, by one or more intervening words. They are found in the New Testament in only two passages, Luke xxiv. 21; 1 Cor. ix. 2, and in both of these, contrary to what is laid down as the correct Greek usage, are placed together. Yet see against the universality of the rule, Ast's Lex. Plat. 1. p. 101.

17. *Γέλωνα . . . Ἱέρωνα . . . Πεισίστρατον.* For the syntax of these words, see C. 425, 4. Gelon was king of Syracuse, B. C. 485. The foul means, *πονηρία κτησάμενος*, by which he gained power, were, in the first place, usurpation, since he had no claim to the throne either by birth or election, and, in the second place, perfidy, since he had been left guardian to the rightful heirs, and was bound to deliver to them the government on their becoming of age. He proved, however, to be a most able, energetic ruler, and advanced the dominion and military fame

of the Syracusans to their highest point. Cf. Thirlwall, v. II. pp. 271-8.—Hiero was a brother of the preceding, and at his death was appointed by him regent, during the minority of his infant son. He reigned for a number of years in this capacity; but as he died before the young prince was old enough to succeed lawfully to his father's authority, Hiero had certainly an honorable title to his power, and must be acquitted of the censure which Plutarch's common description of these kings implies in reference to this point. In other respects, he exemplifies fully the argument. The first years of his reign were marked with a cruelty and oppression which had well-nigh cost him his crown and life; but, as most say, he afterwards reformed, and signalized himself as much by his beneficence and clemency. He is best known, however, for his love of letters, and his patronage of scholars and poets. In this way some of the brightest literary names of Greece, as those of Pindar, Aeschylus, Bacchylides, Simonides, and others, have become associated with that of Hiero.—The arts, by which Pisistratus gained authority, were chiefly those of the demagogue. By intrigue, bribery, and playing off the passions of the poorer citizens against the rich, he succeeded in overthrowing the government of Solon, and rendering himself supreme, B. C. 560. His administration, however, was a prosperous one to Athens. What Plutarch intimates respecting the influence of these rulers in reclaiming their countrymen from idleness and vagrancy, is to be understood no doubt particularly of him. He compelled many of the inhabitants, who were without occupation and useless in the city, to go into the country and devote themselves to husbandry, which was the beginning of the noble olive-yards and corn-fields for which Attica became so famous. The Attica of our own day fully maintains the old reputation in this respect.

25. μάχη Καρχηδονίων, κ.τ.λ. This battle took place at Himera in Sicily, which had been besieged by Hamilcar, the general of the Carthaginians. "The most *beautiful* treaty of peace ever spoken of in history," says Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, B. X. c. 5), "I believe to be that which Gelon made with the Carthaginians. He required of them that they should abolish the custom

of sacrificing their own children. How admirable! After having defeated three hundred thousand Carthaginians, he exacted of them a condition, useful only to themselves; or rather he stipulated for the human race." The condition which Plutarch mentions as having been imposed on the vanquished, points to a feature in their religion, which seems to have distinguished them, in degree, from all other ancient nations. The Semitic tribes in general were greatly addicted to the practice of human sacrifices; but the Phœnician branch of them, to which the Carthaginians belonged, appear to have been pre-eminent in this sort of barbarity. At Carthage, they had a brazen statue of Saturn, which they heated by a furnace over which the statue stood, and then placed the children whom they would sacrifice upon its arms, from which they rolled expiring and in agonies into the flames below. It was considered so great a merit to participate in this worship, that those who had no children of their own to offer, would buy them of the poor for this purpose. The humane regulation of which Plutarch speaks, opposed, if any, no more than a temporary check to the bloody superstition. At a subsequent period, when Agathocles, another king of Syracuse, appeared before the walls of Carthage with his army, the inhabitants offered a sacrifice of two hundred boys from their noblest families, and, after his defeat, chose out all the fairest of the prisoners and slew them as a thank-offering to the gods. At length, in the reign of Tiberius, the public sacrifice of children ceased, in consequence of a decree prohibiting it, but in secret the practice is said to have continued still longer. For traces of this custom in the Old Testament, in regard to the Canaanites, see 2 Kings iii. 27, in regard to the Babylonians, 2 Kings xvii. 13, and in regard to the Hebrews themselves, after they had fallen into idolatry, 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; Is. lvii. 5; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 4; Ezek. xvi. 20, etc.*

* The substance of this note has been drawn from Lasaulx's *Sühnopfer der Griechen und Römer und ihr Verhältniss zu dem Einem auf Golgotha*. 1841. His concluding remark may also be added. "The first interdiction of human sacrifices was decreed by the Roman Senate, B. C. 97, and was repeated by Augustus and Tiberius. Pliny, XXX. 1, 12. Suetonius v. Claudii 25. But it was not till after the

1. (P. 23.) 'Εν δὲ Μεγάλῃ πόλει, κ.τ.λ. This Lydiadas was the last king who reigned at Megalopolis, the later capital of Arcadia. He resigned his sovereignty and became a party to the Achaean league. Plutarch attributes to him a generous motive in taking this step, but Polybius (II. 44) supposes him to have acted merely as a prudent man who foresaw that it was necessary. He proved faithful, however, to the confederation, and died in defence of it in the war against Cleomenes, king of Sparta.

6. Μιλτιάδην ἐν χερρόνῳ, κ.τ.λ. The Chersonese meant is the Thracian. Some epithet would have been added to designate any other. (Hoff p. 1532.) Miltiades, having been sent thither to govern the country, employed the most arbitrary and violent means to establish his authority. His conduct was that of a despot, and brought upon him universal detestation. He afterwards commanded at the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490.—*πρότερον*, *earlier*, i. e. at any time previous to this battle, after his violence and tyranny in the Chersonese.

7. Κίμωνα συνόντα, κ.τ.λ. The Athenian laws, it is commonly said, permitted marriage between a brother and half-sister, though such a connection was reprobated by public sentiment (Pauly's Real-Encyc. p. 364; Becker's Charikles, II. 448). Elpinice, the ἀδελφή in this passage, was thus related to Cimon; but it is manifestly implied here, that the matter might have been taken up and made a ground of legal prosecution. The Eurymedon was a river in Pamphylia, at the mouth of which Cimon obtained a signal victory over the Persians, B. C. 466. The lines here cited are from a lost Ode of Pindar, in which he celebrated the victory at Artemisium. See Schneider's *Fragm. Pind.* p. 71.

8. Θεμιστοκλέους . . . δι' ἀγορᾶς. Themistocles commanded in the sea-fight at Artemisium. The tense of the verbs (ἐκώμαζε,

great propitiatory sacrifice of Christ upon Golgotha, in the time of Hadrian, that human sacrifices ceased *generally*, as Porphyry de Abst. 2, 56, and after him Eusebius de Laud. Const. 18, 7, and Praep. Ev. 4, 17, testify." This instructive article of Lasaulx has since been translated in the Bibl. Sacra, Vol. I. pp. 360-408. Oracles ceased about the same time, and for a similar reason. See Plutarch de Cess. Orac. and Milton's Christmas Hymn: "The Oracles are dumb."

ῥβριζε) shows that what is said of him refers not to a single act, but to a habit of profligacy to which he was addicted before he became a better man.—ἐκώμαζε describes a mode of dissipation which consisted in sallying out at night with a troop of rioters, drunk and merry, going about the streets with music and song, insulting and beating harmless persons who might chance to fall in their way. κῶμος, the root of this verb, as used in Rom. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 21; and 1 Pet. iv. 8, refers to such carousals. Milton, says Macaulay, in his History of England, was undoubtedly thinking of these pests of society, so exactly reproduced in the corrupt times after the Stuart Restoration, when he wrote the noble lines:

“ And in luxurious cities, when the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage, and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.”

It is not impossible that Milton himself may have had his windows broken, or in other ways have suffered from such outrages.

10. ὡς ὑστερον Ἀλκιβιάδου, κ.τ.λ. The offence for which Alcibiades was impeached was partly moral, partly political. He was accused of having profaned the sacred mysteries, and of being concerned in the mutilation of the statues of Mercury during the Peloponnesian war; and also of designing to subvert the democracy of Athens and to render himself absolute. He escaped trial by flight, but was condemned in his absence, and his property confiscated. (Thucyd. VI. 53. 60; Plut. Alcib. 20.)

23. καὶ πάντ' ὅσα, and all the virtues of the soil. These words are the object of ὑποδείκνυσι, and, together with the other objects of the same verb, are limited by τῆς γῆς.

1. (P. 24.) ὁ βελτίων κριτῆς, sc. the Deity. Καὶ before ἀπὸ τούτων is emphatic, from these very circumstances. ἐνοπῶν, discerning in them.

VII. 5. (P. 24.) Ταῦτα . . . ταύτην, sc. ὁδῶ, so much on this point.

7. ἀλφ̄ θανάτου, *in case such a person should be adjudged to death*. See on the verb, Butt. p. 266. It takes its object in the genitive from the judicial sense which belongs to it here. It appears from Aelian (Var. Hist. V. 18), that the Athenians certainly, if not others, adopted this Egyptian law.

8. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, *yes assuredly, by all means*, an answer of assent. It is common in the language of colloquy, and hence frequent in Plato's dialogues.

9. Εἰ κύη. Εἰ with the subjunctive, rare in the early Attic authors, is quite frequent in the later. See Herm. Vig. p. 831. It is rare also in the New Testament. See Winer, § 42, and Rob. Lex. N. T.

11. χρόνον, *at length, in the course of time*.

18. χρείας ἀναγκαίας is Paul's identical expression (except the case) in Tit. iii. 14.

14. τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ χρήσιμον, *the proper time for the punishment*, that is, the time when it is expedient that it should be inflicted.

18. ἀνάστατον γενομένην assigns a reason: *since it would have been subverted by the Carthaginians*.

19. ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν, κ.τ.λ. These places were colonies of Corinth (Plin. Nat. Hist. III. 26), of which city Periander was king; but it is not known what particular agency he had in planting them. The first of them was in Epirus (Hoff. p. 232), and the last two in Acarnania (Hoff. pp. 445, 455). It was at a later period than that of Periander, that the Ocheronese of the Leucadians was separated from the main land and became an island. There is an obscurity also in regard to the punishment which is said to have overtaken him. Reiske suggests that Plutarch may intend the troubles which the tyrant suffered from his son Lycophron, whom he had alienated by putting to death his mother. He appears, at all events, to have died a natural death, at an advanced age. (Herod. III. 49 sq.)

22. Κασάνδρῳ συνοικῶνται. The subjunctive (instead of the optative, which regularly follows the historical tenses) denotes the continuance of the act to the time of the writer. O. 602; H. 729, a. This usage is carried so far in the New Testa-

ment as almost to supersede the optative. Thebes had been entirely destroyed by Alexander the Great, except its walls and the house in which Pindar was said to have been born. The modern Greeks still honor the memory of the great poet by pointing out this house to travellers; and in the same spirit also they have named one of the principal streets of Thebes *ὁδὸς τοῦ Πινδάρου*. Cassander, a king of Macedonia, rebuilt the ancient city, as Plutarch mentions, but jointly with the Athenians and some other states. He was a tyrant who scrupled at no crime to gratify his lust of power. Comp. Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, v. VIII. p. 319. His punishment appears not to have been sudden, or to have consisted in any single calamity. He escaped a violent end; but the latter part of his reign was embittered by domestic troubles and wars; and, at his death, he left his kingdom in so weakened a state, that it was soon wrested from his heirs, and passed into other hands.

23. *τῶν δὲ τούτῃ, κ.τ.λ.* Plutarch alludes to the Phocian or Sacred war of the Greeks, as it was called. The leaders in it, on the part of the Phocians, were Philomelus and Onomarchus, who seized the temple at Delphi and robbed it of its treasures, which they employed for raising and supporting an army of foreign soldiers. (Diod. XVI. 56.) This war was brought to an end by Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander. Most of these soldiers enlisted then under Timoleon, and accompanied him to Sicily to aid the Syracusans in resisting the Carthaginians, and freeing themselves from the tyranny of Dionysius the younger. We see, from this passage, that the scene of the dialogue is laid at Delphi.

27. *ἐξώλοντο κακοὶ κακῶς*. This expression is almost identical with that in Matt. xxi. 41: *κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολέσει*. The Greeks were fond of combining these words in other ways also, so as to produce a paronomasia, as, for instance, *κακὰ κακῶν, κακῶν κάκιστος, κακὸς κακίαν, κ.τ.λ.* The Romans said, in like manner, *malos male perdere*. On the use of this figure in the New Testament, see Winer, § 62.

In *ἐνίοις . . . τυράννοισι* the accusative is an attracted case after the suppressed object of *ἐπέτριψε*. The change of *ἐνίοις*

to *είνους* assigns a false government to *ἀπεχρήσατο*.—*ἀμέλει* = *no doubt*, properly an imperative = *never mind*. So many conjunctions in English are old imperatives. (P. 25.) *καὶ κολασταῖς*, also *punishers* as well as *punished*. For the use of the aorist instead of the present in *ἀπεχρήσατο*, see O. 575, 2; H. 707; K. 256, 4. C. It denotes a fact frequently observed and established by experience. Observe the force of the preposition in this verb, literally *to use off*, here = *makes use of to the full*. So Matt. vi. 8: *ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν* = *they have their reward to the full*, all they ever will have. Cf. Plutarch de Gen. Soc. p. 103.

11. ὁ θεός, viz., Apollo, as results from ἐν Πυθίοις. Of Teletias we have no further information.

14. The city of the Cleonians, αἱ Κλεωναὶ πόλις, stood on the way from Argos to Corinth. It boasted a high antiquity, but in other respects was insignificant. Homer mentions it in his catalogue of ships (Il. II. 483–785) as one of the cities subject to the sway of Agamemnon. Plutarch means, probably, that it escaped the evils of misrule and tyranny as compared with some other places; for it is not true that it escaped them altogether. In saying that *it had already come to nothing*, he spoke with almost literal truth, since the site of it even then was scarcely any longer to be traced.*

15. Σικυνωνίους μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας, κ.τ.λ. The Sicyonians, besides the particular act of cruelty imputed to them here, were proverbial for their vice and effeminacy in general. The menace of Apollo, however, is suspected to have been drawn forth by an artifice of Orthagoras himself, for the purpose of securing a more willing submission to his tyranny. The power, for which he thus sought to pave the way, continued in his family for more than a hundred years; the longest period, says Aristotle, of a

* Leake (Travels in the Morea, v. III. p. 325) describes its present condition thus: "Leaving the river and plain on our left, we cross some uncultivated fields, the roots of Mount Fuka, and at 11.13 halt for a few minutes at the site of Cleonæ. The only remains are some Hellenic foundations around a small height, upon which are the supporting walls of several terraces. A hamlet of four or five houses, on the slope towards the plain, is still called Klenes (Κλένας), not far from which is a larger village, named Kurtési."

Greek tyranny. Myron and Cleisthenes were also kings of Sicyon and descendants of Orthagoras.*

16. *οἱ περὶ* (cf. John xi. 19), with the accusative of a proper name, commonly denotes the person spoken of, together with his associates or followers. It became, at length, particularly in the later writers, a mere periphrasis for the individual alone, without any reference to his connection with others, though possibly it may suggest, more distinctly than the name alone, the individual's personal qualities or attributes, or history. Cf. O. 476; H. 651; K. 296. III. 1; Butt. p. 439, on the usage. The more restricted sense would be pertinent here, or we may understand Myron and Cleisthenes, together with those whom they employed as the instruments of their tyranny.

18. *Ὁμήρου δέ που λέγοντος, κ.τ.λ. saying somewhere*, in some passage or other of his writings. We have precisely the same indefinite mode of reference Heb. ii. 6, *διεμαρτύρετο δέ που*, and, also, in iv. 4, *εἶρηκε γάρ που*. The allusion is to Il. xv. 638. The writer quotes it as a happy expression of his sentiment, but goes on to deny that it was illustrated in the instance of which Homer used the language. Copreus, the father, having slain Iphitus, was obliged to fly to Mycenæ and obtain absolution at the hands of Eurystheus. See Crusius on Il. ut supra. Periphetes, the name of his son whom Homer lauds as so much superior to him, was slain by Hector as stated, Il. xv. 639. The poet justifies the encomium, however, by no record of his exploits.

23. *ἀλλὰ τὸ Σισύφου, κ.τ.λ.* What is implied in respect to the infamy of those who are mentioned as the ancestors, may be assumed as known without illustration. To see who are meant as the offspring, it is necessary to go forward to the last sentence of the paragraph. Ulysses was descended both from Sysiphus and Autolycus, being the son of the former, though his reputed father was Laertes, and grandson of the latter, through

* In placing Orthagoras at the head of the line, Plutarch seems to disagree with Herodotus (VI. 126), who omits his name and mentions Andreas as the remotest ancestor of Cleisthenes. Müller (Dor. I. 8. 2. n. χ) supposes that they were the same person, and supports his conjecture by an appeal to the fragment in Mai (II, p. 12). So Thirlwall in his note, v. I. p. 424.

his mother Anticlea (Odys. XI. 85). It was Autolycus who stole the oxen of Iphitus, or, more correctly, of his father Eurytus, who sent his son in pursuit of them; and hence, by the allusion to this fact, we have the theft and infamy of the progenitor, precisely as the argument requires, placed in opposition to the renown and services of the descendant. It would explain nothing, so far as the history is concerned, but rather add to the difficulty, to read here Ἡρακλέα or Ἡρακλῆν, instead of Ὀδυσσεά, and the change to this effect proposed by Wyttenbach would seem to be without sufficient reason. Aesculapius is mentioned, probably, because he was grandson of Phlegyas, who, in revenge for an affront from Apollo, set fire to his temple at Delphi.

25. Γέγονε . . . οἰκίας. The term ἐναγής was applied to a person who had committed some heinous crime which required special religious rites for its expiation, and which even then fixed often a perpetual stigma on his descendants. So it was in this case. Pericles belonged, on the maternal side, to the family of Megacles or the Alcmaeonidae, as they were sometimes called. Cylon had attempted to obtain the sovereignty of Athens, B. C. 612. He was defeated in this design, and his adherents, though he himself escaped, took refuge at the altars of the gods. Megacles, in whose archonship this occurred, promised to spare their lives, if they would leave their asylum, and prevailed on them to trust his word. He both abused, however, their confidence and violated the sanctity of the place. He no sooner had them in his power than he broke his oath, and put them to death within the precincts of the temple itself. The act was deemed so atrocious, that Epimenides (probably the ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, whom Paul quotes in Titus i. 12), who appears to have been not only a poet, but the great καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας of his age, was sent for from Crete to perform the necessary rites of purification. Megacles and his family were banished for a time from the city, and, though afterwards suffered to return, could never wipe off entirely the stain of so memorable a crime.—γέγονε, as referring to origin or descent, may be followed by ἐκ, or directly, as in this case, by the genitive.

1. (P. 26.) *Μάγνος*. This Latin word is transferred, instead of being translated, because it had become so associated with the name of Pompey as to be a kind of surname. *Στραβόνος ἡν νίος*, etc. It was chiefly the insatiate avarice of Strabo which rendered him so odious. He was killed by lightning, which the Romans regarded as a punishment for his vices. His body was seized by the populace, dragged by iron hooks through the city, and finally thrown into the Tiber. See Plut. vit. Pomp. c. 1.

4. *ἄκανθαν*—*ἀσπάραγον*: *φρύγανον*—*λήδανον*. The botany of the ancients is too little known to admit of our deciding very definitely what products are meant by these words. It is only apparent that the *ἄκανθα* was some showy shrub or tree which bore the useful *ἀσπάραγος*, and the *φρύγανον* some plant which produced the gum *λήδανον*, and then was used for fuel.

9. *Μυρίας*. For the accent of this word, see C. 137, ζ; H. 257; K. 99, 2. It is here an indefinitely large number = *innumerable*, and similar to *μυρίους* in 1 Cor. iv. 15. It is feminine, because *herds* of cattle and horses are so conceived of, and herds of cattle are, in fact, usually so.

VIII. 17. (P. 26.) *νόμιζειν* some editors would change to *νομίζετε*. But we have no warrant for this, and must regard the infinitive as brachyological for *χρή* or *δεῖ νομίζειν*, or as including in itself the idea of the impersonal verb. So Stallbaum, after Heindorf, explains the similar cases in Plato: "in talibus locis non δέιν οmissum esse, sed verba ἡγείσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, νομίζειν, al. significare *æquum* s. *opus judicare*." See note on Protag. 346, B.—τὸ κατὰ Κάλλιππον, κ.τ.λ. In his life of Dion, Plutarch relates this incident more at length. Callippus, or Callicrates, as the name is sometimes written, was living at the court of Dion, as his guest, at the time that he murdered him. He had been suspected of such a design and charged with it, but protested his innocence by an oath, which he regarded so little as to choose the festival of the Deity by whom he had sworn, as the occasion for carrying his purpose into effect. He was soon deposed from the power which it had been his object to secure by this act, and, after wandering from place to place, was killed in a quarrel with the very same dagger, as it is said,

which he had used against Dion. "Thus," as the narrator adds, "he suffered the punishment which his crimes deserved." This disposition in Plutarch to mark the retributions of guilt in human history has been justly pointed out as one of his most distinguishing and valuable traits as a biographer.*

19. With *καὶ*, *τό* repeats *οἷόν ἐστι* above. Aristotle mentions the same incident in his *Poetics* (c. 9), but calls the person whose death was thus avenged Mitys, instead of Mitius.

25. 'Ο μὲν Ἀρίστων, κ.τ.λ. The ornament here meant was the famous golden necklace, with which Polynices, the son of Oedipus, induced Eriphyle to betray her husband Amphiaras, who had secreted himself to avoid going to the Theban war, in which he knew he was destined to perish.

26. ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, *deposited here*, i. e. in the temple at Delphi. Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaras, on hearing of the death of his father, slew Eriphyle, and consecrated the fatal ornament as a gift to Apollo at Delphi. Here it remained till the time of the Sacred war, when it shared the fate of the other treasures of the temple, as stated in a preceding note. See VII. 23, P. 24. Ariston, who received the necklace, was the leader of a band of the foreign soldiers (ξεναγωγόν), hired with the fruits of this sacrilege.

27. τῶν τυράννων is genitive absolute with *διδόντων*, denoting the *condition* or *circumstances* under which the necklace was removed. The tyrants are probably the leaders of the Phocians in the Sacred war, viz. Onomarchus, Philomelus, Phayllus, and others.

5. (P. 27.) *χελιδόνων* *διέφθειρε*. "Hirundinem laedere, ut hodieque a multis, sic antiquitus nefas habebatur." Wytténb. Bessus, of whom Plutarch relates this very striking occurrence, is unknown to us, except from this passage.

8. *τί πασῶν* *ἔπραξας*, *What, fellow, has possessed you to do so monstrous a thing?* Both *τί πασῶν*, and the similar phrase *τί μαζῶν*, express always disapprobation on the part of the person from whom the question proceeds, and are often rendered,

* See to this effect Hoffmann, *Die Alterthumswissenschaft*, p. 695.

though loosely, *why, for what reason*, etc. But with this general resemblance, the phrases admit of a more exact distinction. In demanding the explanation of an act by *τί παθών*, the cause is supposed to be some external circumstances or sudden phrensy of mind; but in employing *τί μαθών* that it was occasioned by false views, or some oversight of the understanding. Matth. § 567; C. 631, N; H. 789, c; K. 344, R. 5.—*γάρ* presupposes an indignant denial of the insinuation which the question conveyed.—*ἀλλόκοτον*, *strange, unnatural*. See the etymology in Liddell and Scott.

IX. 14. (P. 27.) *ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς, κ.τ.λ., these things we say, in accordance with the assumption, supposing, to wit, that there is some delay*, etc. This sense of *ἀξίω* to denote what is taken for granted, is frequent in philosophical writers.

17. *οὐχ ἧ, κ.τ.λ., (sc. ὁδῷ, in what way,) not as Plato that punishment is a suffering which follows injustice, but contemporaneous with it, produced from the same common source and root.*

19. *ὁμόθεν* appears to express the same sense as the following genitives. Wytttenbach would disregard the grammatical form, and consider it as equivalent to *ὁμοῦ, at the same time*. In either case it is strictly superfluous, since the idea is already expressed by other words in the sentence. The remark of Plato, to which exception is taken, is found de Legg. 5. 374, F. The line from Hesiod is v. 264 of the Works and Days. The other is considered by some as a free citation of v. 263 of the same work, but by others is attributed to Democritus of Chios, or Callimachus. The sentiment in both is the same, and corresponds to Prov. v. 22; xxvi. 27, and Ps. vii. 16.

24. *καρσάπης*, the plaster-beetle, or Spanish fly (*lytta vesicatoria*, Fab., or *meloe vesicatoria*, Lin.), whose powerful vesicating properties, it is well known, will both kill and cure. The ancient physicians made the same use of the cantharis in medicine which is made of it at present. Cf. Plut. Aud. Poet. 22, A.

25. *ἀντιπαθείας*. Or rather, as we might say in our day, by a kind of *homœopathy*: *similia similibus curantur*.

3. (P. 28). *ἐκαστος . . . σταυρόν*. Reference is here made to the case of malefactors who were condemned to die by crucifixion.

A part of their punishment consisted in being required to carry their own cross to the place of execution. This passage of Plutarch is a *locus classicus*, in proof of the existence of such a custom (Lips. de Cruce, 2. 5), and confirms what the Evangelists assume as true relative to this point in their history of the crucifixion of the Saviour. (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26; John xix. 17.) See "Crucifixion," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

7. *μεταμελείας* = regrets; *μετάνοιαν* = repentance and reformation, cf. above, VI. So in New Testament, *μεταμελήσεις* is used to express the regrets and remorse of Judas, while *μετάνοια* expresses genuine repentance.

12. *ἀχρῖς . . . ὀφθαλμοῖς*. Reiske finds in this passage an allusion to the early Christian martyrs, who were sometimes put to death in a manner similar to what is described here, in the persecutions under the Roman emperors. We should not be authorized, however, to infer this merely from the mode of execution, since this does not seem to have been peculiar to the Christians, but common to them with others who were held to be atrocious offenders. Plato alludes to a similar punishment, which he expresses by the word *καταπιττωθή*. Gorg. 473, c. The earliest explicit allusions to the sufferings of the Christians which occur in our classical authors, are those of Tacitus, Annal. xv. 44, and of Suetonius in Nerone, c. 16. It is generally supposed that Juvenal also refers to Christians (Serm. 1. 146-8), but the terms there are too indefinite to admit of such a construction with certainty.

20. *Ἡρόδικον . . . ὁ Πλάτων . . . νοσοῦσιν*. Plato says this in Repub. 3. 400, A. Herodicus was at first a professional *παιδο-τριβής*, or teacher of gymnastics. These, before his time, had been practised almost solely as an accomplishment, but were applied by him to purposes of health, and were henceforth engrafted on the healing art as a branch of the profession. Wyttenbach, in his note on this passage, has confounded him with another person of the same name, who was a brother of Gorgias the sophist. See Stallb. on Gorg. 448, B., and also Woolsey, *ibid.* The place from which he is here named, Selymbria or

Selybria (Hoff. p. 1537), was a city of Thrace on the Propon-tis.—*μίξαντα . . . ἱατρικῇ* sc. *τέχνῃ*, *dativus communionis et societatis*. K. 284, 3; C. 399; H. 662.

24. *ὅσοι τὴν παρανίκια, κ.τ.λ.* The peculiar felicity both of conception and manner displayed here, has been justly admired. "Et egregie hæc excogitata et graviter omnino pronuntiata sunt." Wytténb.

1. (P. 29.) *λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.* See analysis of the argument, p. 75. The passage, it will at once occur, presents a most striking parallel to the declaration in 2 Pet. iii. 8, 9: "The Lord is not slack concerning his promises" (his word, his purposes) "as some men count slackness: for one day with him is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

3. *τὸ μηδέν.* The article gives emphasis = *mere nothing*.

6. *ἄλλως τε καί*, properly *cum alias ob causas, tum, etc.*, but may be rendered = *μάλιστα, especially*. See on the phrase Matth. § 597; C. 671, 3, cf. 492; H. 511; K. 332, 4. The punishment of the wicked may with so much the more reason be deferred for a time, because in the interval they are constantly guarded as prisoners, who have no means of escape from the power of the Deity.

X. 19. (P. 29.) *προσδοκίας* means more frequently in the classics *hope, expectation* in a good sense, and this is the only meaning of it which some of the Lexicons recognize; but here manifestly it signifies *fear, apprehension*, precisely as in Luke xxi. 26. For the gender of *οἷς*, see C. 446.

24. *ἐχεται . . . καὶ . . . ἐξεδήδοκε.* The sense here turns on the force of *εὐθύς*. The writer would say, that the transgressor has no sooner tasted the pleasure than he begins to feel the pains of guilt; or, to speak after the analogy of the figure, he is caught as soon as the alluring bait of vice has tempted him to swallow it. *εὐθύς* connects itself back to *ἀδικήσας*, and signifies *at the same time*, i. e. that the unjust deed was committed. See Passow *sub voc.* 3. b. Cf. also K. 312, R. 6; C. 616, a; H. 795, b, c. The adverb and participle in this sense are more apt to stand in the same clause; but could be separated here perhaps, because they qualify both verbs.

27. *Σύννος* *διαστροβεί*. Plutarch has quoted this line also, in his life of Lucullus, but, as here, without accrediting it to its source. The author is unknown. The comparison reminds us of the somewhat similar illustration of the same thought in Is. lvii. 20.

1. (P. 30.) *ἰταμότης ἐκείνη*, *that audacity*, viz., which is a well-known characteristic of the wicked. The use of *ἐκείνος* to denote persons or things of general notoriety, is similar to that of *ille* in Latin, but less frequent. H. 679, b. Not wholly dissimilar to this is the use of the pronoun in the New Testament phrase, *ἡ-ἡμέρα ἐκείνη*, in Matt. vii. 22 ; xxiv. 36 ; Luke x. 12, etc.

8. *Τῷδε δράκων, κ.τ.λ.* Stesichorus is said to have written a tragedy, entitled *Orestes*, from which these lines are supposed to have been taken. (Athan. L. 12. p. 513, A.)—*βασιλεὺς Πλειστίδης* is *Orestes*, the grandson, or, as others say, the nephew, of *Plisthenes*. It is he who appears to *Clytemnestra* in the dream or vision, because as the natural avenger of his father it belonged to him to punish her for having murdered *Agamemnon*.

12. *ἐπαγεί* agrees directly with the nearest subject in the clause which immediately precedes, and hence is singular, though it has also several other subjects in the plural. H. 511, h. Or the subjects may be regarded as making up one whole, and thus taking a singular verb. K. 242, R. 2. *χειμῶνας* here must of course denote tempests in the soul.

13. *Οἶον φασὶν Ἀπολλόδωρον, κ.τ.λ.* When ancient writers would cite the two worst examples of inhumanity which were known to them, they gave the names of this *Apollodorus* and *Phalaris*. (Senec. de *Ira*, 2. 5 ; de *Benefic.* 7. 19.) He lived B. C. 279, and reigned at *Cassandria*, or *Potidaea* as it was called at first, on the confines of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. (Hoff. p. 117, 131.) The images of guilt which haunted his imagination, show that he must have been an unnatural father as well as a cruel tyrant. The *Scythians* were proverbial for their barbarity (hence a generalized term for rude, uncivilized, in Col. iii. 11), and as the kingdom of *Apollodorus* lay in their vicinity, it was not a singular suggestion of his fears, that he might one day fall into their

hands, and suffer from them the plagues which his heart told him that he deserved.

19. Ἱππάρχον δὲ τὸν Πεισιστράτου, κ.τ.λ. sc. ὄρᾶν, supplied from the first member of the sentence. Herodotus (V. 56), has related another dream which Hipparchus is said to have had just before his assassination, and which conveyed to him an obscure intimation of his danger. The crime, which occasioned him these forebodings, is indicated by the source from which he sees himself threatened with punishment. He was put to death by Harmodius and Aristogiton, B. C. 518.

21. φιάλης, a bowl or basin, with more breadth than depth; Latin, *patera*. In the Apocalypse it is the bowl, or cup of punishment, unfortunately rendered *vial* in the English version. Rev. v. 8, *et al.*

22. Οἱ δὲ Πτολεμαίου, κ.τ.λ. The Ptolemy here mentioned was a son of the first Egyptian king of this name. He is summoned to justice by Seleucus, because he had murdered him, and thus succeeded to his power as king of Macedonia. We are to interpret the dream probably as showing forth not only the certainty of his punishment, but the particular manner in which he should come to his end. He had reigned but a short time, when his kingdom was invaded by the Gauls, on their migration eastward, who took him prisoner and tore him in pieces alive. This was in the third century B. C. It was to the descendants of these Gauls, in part, that the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed. They crossed subsequently into Asia Minor, and there established themselves in the portion of it which was afterwards called from them (Κελτοί, Γαλάται) Gallatia. See "Galli," by Baumstark, in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie.

4. (P. 81.) Βαῖνε δίκης ἄσσον, *go, meet thy merited doom*. ἄσσον is often joined in this sense with *λέναι*, *ικέσθαι*, and other similar verbs. It takes more frequently in such a case the dative, but sometimes the genitive, as here. So II. XIV. 227. Compare note on ἐγγυάτω, p. 14, l. 15.

6. ψυχοπομπεῖον was a place for the practice of necromancy, i. e., where, according to the popular superstition, the souls of the dead could be called up from the lower world and consulted as

a species of oracle. The Greeks, as early as the time of Homer (Odys. XI. 24), practised this mode of divination, but not, as it would appear, with great frequency, or on common occasions.* It presupposes manifestly a belief in the continued existence of the soul after death, and constitutes an important testimony to the recognition of this doctrine, wherever the custom prevails. The Old Testament abounds in traces of it among the Hebrews, in the earliest as well as the later periods of their history. See Lev. xix. 31; Deut. xviii. 11; 1 Sam. xxv. 7 sq.; Is. viii. 19, xxix. 4, etc. The city here mentioned as the seat of the oracle was most probably in Bithynia on the Euxine.

XI. 16. ἐν τῷ βίῳ and τῷ χρόνῳ may be by hendiadys = ἐν τῷ τοῦ βίου χρόνῳ, analogous to our *life-time*.

17. τὸ δαιμόνιον is to be supplied as the subject of παρέχειν, unless we read with some ὑπάρχειν, in which case κακόν would be the subject.

18. πράγματος is in apposition with ἀδικίας, the latter as subject and the former as predicate of the preposition.

20. ἡ αἰσθησις αὐτῶν, *the perceiving or consciousness I say of this*. "αὐτός is sometimes used, like the Latin *ipse*, of that which is the subject of discourse, and supplies the place of αὐτὸς οὗτος." Kühner, Ausführ. Gram. 630, 3, e. A neuter pronoun referring to a sentence, usually singular in English, is more frequently plural in Greek to express the complexity of the idea. H. 518, b. Cf. K. 241, R. 3; C. 336.

21. ἱστοροῦσι δήπου Λυσίμαχον, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch relates the same anecdote of this well-known general of Alexander in his Apophth. 183, E, and again in his treatise de San. Tuend. 126, E. The European Getae dwelt on the confines of Thrace, which was one of the countries that fell to Lysimachus in the partition of Alexander's empire.—24. ἐμῆς has the influence on the following rela-

* Oracles for this purpose were oriental in their origin and character, rather than Grecian. "They seem," says Thirlwall (v. I. p. 205), "not to have been congenial with the feelings of the Greeks, and to have been seldom resorted to, except by those who had been goaded by remorse into an unwonted superstition."

tive, which ἐμοῦ would have had in its place. Soph. p. 179; O. 503.

2. (P. 32.) ἡ χρημάτων ἕνεκεν . . . ἡ φθόνη . . . ἡ δὲ ἡδονή. Three different ways of conceiving and expressing the motive of the same action are here brought together, ἕνεκεν with the genitive denoting properly the object *for the sake of* which; the dative without a preposition, the manner *in*, or means *by*, which; and διὰ, with the accusative, the cause *through* which the agent is led to perform it. Plutarch, like Tacitus, is fond of these varied constructions.

14. Σιμωνίδης . . . κενόν. Simonides is said to have been the first who wrote poetry for a reward. As he demanded a high price for his encomiums, he found it much easier to obtain the money than the thanks of those who were ambitious of a place in his verse. Hence he was accustomed to say that he kept two chests; *that for silver he found always full; but that for benefits or presents of gratitude, empty.*

15. δὲ ἡδονῆς, κ.τ.λ. The preposition denotes apparently a condition, under which the wicked make the experience in question, i. e., in enjoying a pleasure which proves immediately so worthless, they find, etc. So διὰ περιτομῆς, Rom. ii. 27 = in a state of circumcision; δὲ ἀκροβυστίας, Rom. iv. 11 = in a state of uncircumcision. ἔρημον is feminine, and belongs to κακίαν. It is one of several adjectives which have usually three, but in Attic writers often only two, endings.

20. ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε, κ.τ.λ. The compound construction in ἐφ' οἷς throws the participle into the following clause; but in the agreement the law of sense prevails still over that of position. Valckenaer (Diatrib. in Euripides Fragm. c. 17, p. 179), supposes these lines to be drawn from some lost tragedy of Euripides. The crime which Ino laments was, that she had instigated her husband, Athamas, to treat his children by a former marriage with so much cruelty, and even to attempt their death.

22. πῶς ἄν, joined thus to the optative, expresses not so much a question as a definite wish or prayer, and where the Latin language would employ *o si*, or *utinam*. Matth. 513. 1; O. 600, 2; K. 260, 2. So again in the sentence which follows.—

ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *anew, as at first*.—25. ταῦτα=οὗτως introduces the second member of the comparison, as correlative with ὥσπερ. It is less common in this sense than ταύτη.

8. (P. 33.) Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ, κ.τ.λ. The order of the words, as conformed more nearly to that of the thought, would be, as Wytténbach suggests, οὐ γὰρ θαρράλειον ἐστὶ τὸ πονηρόν, κ.τ.λ. The object of this arrangement would seem to be to emphasize τὸ πονηρόν, or, perhaps, to bring it into close connection with προαίρεται. The expression, ἐν οἷς προαίρεται, has arisen from a contraction of the fuller and more common construction ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς αἰσθηταῖς. The phrase is similar to that mentioned in the note on l. 20.

5. εἰ μὴ) . . . τοὺς ἀδικούντας. The words of Cicero (Offic. I. 19) furnish a comment on this remark. "Scientia, quae est remota a justitia, calliditas potius, quam sapientia est appellanda." In these terms he has given the sense of Plato in Menex. 246, E. It was held by many of the ancients as a sort of axiom in ethics, that good qualities preserve their character as such only when directed to good ends. Thus a bad man may exhibit subtilty or cunning in the practice of vice, but not wisdom properly so called. He may discover pertinacity, presumption, arrogance, but not true fortitude, courage, or magnanimity.

12. τοὺς ψέγοντας . . . προσύμῳς, *they fear those who censure them, and dread those who praise them, as persons injured by deception and as especially hostile to the wicked, because they praise readily those who seem to be good*. The proof, it will be observed, which confirms the observation in τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας δεδιέναι, is itself confirmed by the clause ὅτι . . . προσύμῳς. The praise of virtue, to develop the idea in another form, implies, where it is sincere, an abhorrence of vice; and hence there are none whom the wicked have so much reason to dread, as the very persons on whom they have imposed by their hypocrisy, and who, in applauding them for imaginary excellence, give proof of the detestation with which they would regard them, could they but see their characters in a true light. The distinction said to exist between δεδιέναι and φοβεῖσθαι, is, that the former denotes a permanent feeling of insecurity, the latter

a sudden fear, or the terror awakened by the presence itself of danger. See Ammonius, sub v. Δέος. See also Stallb. on Plat. Protag. 358, D. But this difference, says Stallbaum, is often neglected, as in Legg. 746, E, Ibid. 7, 819, A, and Xenoph. Mem. III. 5. 6.

20. Οὐ γὰρ δὴπου, κ.τ.λ., *for surely it cannot be that while on the one hand the mean man, after having faithfully rendered up a trust committed to him, etc., is immediately subject to regret and troubled at what he has done, they on the other hand who sacrifice men's lives for power, etc., were not wont to repent of it nor abhor themselves, nor be troubled at what has been done.* It is a sentence of the same kind as that on p. 17, where see note.

1. (P. 34.) ἐπὶ τυραννίσι . . . Ἀπολλόδορος, *for the attainment of sovereignties and conspiracies, i. e., by a constructio præg-nans, as regards the latter, for the stronger confederation of them.* From the sense of ἐπὶ as denoting "condition," results that of "aim or object," as being the inducement from which a person acts. The allusion is to the means which Apollodorus took in order to bind his accomplices more strongly to his cause. He invited them to a feast, and, after they had eaten, showed to them the remains of the bodies of several persons whom he had slain and served up to them in their food.

3. ὧς Γλαῦκος, κ.τ.λ. The story is told at length by Herodotus (VI. 86), and alluded to by other writers. See Rawlinson's note on Herod. III. p. 477. Glaucus was by birth a Spartan, and esteemed the most just man of his age. A rich Milesian, having heard of his fame, and wishing to provide some securer place for his property than Ionia at that time afforded, entrusted to him a large sum of money, on condition that it should be restored when demanded. After a time the sons of the Milesian came, and, as the lawful heirs, requested the surrender of the property. But Glaucus now affected an entire ignorance of the transaction, and sent them away without granting their claim. On their departure he hastened to Delphi, and inquired of the oracle whether he might persist in his denial and retain the money. He was answered, that if he chose to falsify his word, he might enjoy the fruits of his perfidy for a time, but that as a

punishment for his wickedness in conceiving such a thought, he and all his family should be utterly destroyed. The answer so terrified him, that he sent for the Milesians, and gave them back the property, but was ere long cut off with all his race, in fulfilment of what the oracle had foretold. Juvenal, *Serm.* 13, 199, recites this story to confirm the moral, that crime meditated involves often the guilt of crime committed :

Has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.

5. ἐγὼ μὲν, *I for my part*, though others may judge differently. The antithete δέ which the mind so readily supplies, may be omitted in such cases. Cf. *Matth.* § 622. b ; *H.* 862, a ; *K.* 322, R. 3. This is exemplified in the New Testament, *Acts* xix. 4 ; *Rom.* vii. 12, x. 1 ; *Col.* ii. 23. Cf. *Winer*, § 64. 2, e.

XII. 11. Τυχὸν μῆκος. *Perhaps*, it is being protracted too much, *with reference to the future and the length of what remains* to be discussed. Τυχόν is an adverb.

13. ὥσπερ ἔφεδρον. This term is used, with a playful allusion to the contests of wrestlers or pugilists, in which, when one was vanquished, another came forward and took his place. The individual, sitting by in expectation of being thus called into the lists, was termed ὁ ἔφεδρος. Referring to this custom, *Timon* says, that as the first difficulties have all been overcome, he will now propose his final objection, and thus bring on, as it were, his last recruit.

14. μετρίως, not indifferently, but *well, excellently*, an expression of unqualified praise, i. q. κοσμίως. See *Stallb.* on *Plat. Phaedo*, 108, C.

15. Ἄ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης, κ.τ.λ. It appears from *Stobaeus* (*Serm.* 78, p. 454), that a remark like this was contained in the *Alcmaeon* of *Euripides*, a tragedy of the poet which has been lost. The doctrine, against which *Timon* cites the poet, has formed, it is well known, a part of the religious creed of mankind in almost every age and nation. The Grecian drama, especially, abounds in the recognition of it. "In the *Oedipus Tyrannus*," says *Pro-*

fessor Lewis,* "the Oedipus Coloneus and Antigone of Sophocles, in the Phoenissae of Euripides, and in the Septem of Aeschylus, we have constantly this single moral presented,—that an act of wilful disobedience to the Divine command, involves, not only the first guilty individual, but also his offspring to the third generation, together with his kindred and country, in a train of the most calamitous consequences,—that sin ever begets sin, and that nothing can stay the plague or make atonement, but the direct interposition of Heaven. The story of the house of Atreus strongly presents the same great truth, as it is powerfully exemplified in the sublime Trilogy of Aeschylus, consisting of the Agamemnon, the Choraeph, and the Eumenides. It is, however, worthy of note in these cases, as in the parallel Scripture histories, that the descendants are not merely unfortunate, but criminal." For the opinion of the ancients on this subject, Wytenbach refers to Valckenaer ad Phoeniss. v. 941; Hippol. v. 826, and also Ez. Spanhem. ad Callimach. p. 265. Among the places in Scripture which assert this doctrine, are Ex. xx. 5; Gen. ix. 25; 1 Sam. iii. 12, 13; 1 Kings xv. 29, 30; xxi. 29; Rom. v. 12–19; Matt. xxiii. 35; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.†

23. εὖ τῷ ἀδίκῳ, κ.τ.λ. sc. *κολάζειν*, which is understood with *δίκαιον* in the previous clause, and is to be supplied with *ἀδίκῳ* and *βραδέως* here. *ἀναλαμβάνουσι* = recover, *make good the delay*.—Οἷον ἐνταῦθα δῆπουθεν, *As for example here (at Delphi) you may know*—*δήπουθεν* = *scilicet*.

4. (P. 35.) οἱ δὲ συνζέοντες αἰτίαν, κ.τ.λ. *but they having got up a charge*, etc. The origin of the quarrel was a jest of Aesop's, that the Delphians were a shiftless set, who, having no land of their own, had to depend on the sacrifices for their daily food. The scholiast in Aristophanes (Vulp. 1446) says, that they concealed

* "The Divine attributes as exhibited in the Grecian Poetry," in Bib. Rep. v. X. No. 19. See also Articles by one of the editors of this volume on the Theology of Aeschylus in Bibl. Sacra, vol. XVI. No. 62, and on the Theology of Sophocles in Bibl. Sacra, vol. XVII. No. 67, and vol. XVIII. No. 69.

† The Biblical view of this subject will be found very fully stated and vindicated against objections in Jamieson on Sacred History, v. 2, c. 5.

one of the sacred vessels in his baggage, and after his departure pursued him and charged him with having stolen it. They took up the affront therefore intended for themselves, in the name of Apollo, and put Aesop to death on the charge of sacrilege. Out of respect to the memory of Aesop, the Delphians subsequently transferred this punishment to Nauplia, mentioned just below, another of the summits of Parnassus. Hyampeia was the name of the eastern one of two lofty cliffs, not less than 2,000 feet high, which overhung Delphi on the north, and are separated from each other by a deep fissure, through which a stream flows in winter into the fountain of Castalia, just at the foot of these summits. Over this frightful precipice criminals were thrown who had been guilty of any act of disrespect to the temple or oracle of the Delphian god. As the dialogue, according to the fiction of the writer, took place in a porch which stood almost under the shadow of the cliff, the speaker could say, with a look or gesture in that direction, ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης. The Samaritan woman's abrupt allusion to Gerizim, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, in John iv. 19, arises from a similar autoptical view.

11. Σάμος Ἰδμων, κ.τ.λ. Instead of Idmon, Herodotus (XI. 134) writes Iadmon. The descendant, as he states, bore the same name as his ancestor. Aesop is said to have been born a slave, to have been sold repeatedly from one master to another, till he came at length into the possession of Idmon the Samian, who gave him his freedom.

18. τὸ Βραγχιδῶν ἄστυ, κ.τ.λ. The Branchidae were the hereditary priests of the temple and oracle of Apollo at Didyme, not far from Miletus in Ionia. As they had betrayed its treasures to Xerxes, they requested him, on his return from Greece, to give them a residence in some remote region of Asia, where they might be secure from the wrath of the Greeks, which they had now so much reason to apprehend. He accordingly removed them to Bactriana. It was here that Alexander found their descendants on his expedition into the East, and inflicted on them the summary vengeance to which Plutarch refers.

22. Κερκυραίους (from Κέρκυρα or Κόρκυρα, the modern Corfu)

was a later name of the Phaeaces of Homer, who entertained Ulysses with great hospitality when shipwrecked on their coast, and who finally conveyed him in a vessel of their own to Ithaca. See *Odyss.* VI. 78-225, and XIII. 1-95. A beautiful fountain, back of the modern city of Corfu, is still associated with the story of Nausicaa and her attendants, and the ship-like island in the harbor is pointed out as the ship which conveyed Ulysses home, and on its return was converted into stone by the resentment of Poseidon.

1. (P. 86.) *καὶ τὸν ποιμένα*, viz. Polyphemus. The allusion is to the well-known story related in *Odyss.* IX. 371 sq. *καί*, i. e., on his part, as an offset to this pillage of the soldiers. *πρός*, in the verb = *besides*, adds the blinding of the shepherd to the destruction of his flock. See the full statement, *Apophthg.* Agathoc.

2. *εἰ φενεάρας*. Pheneus, as old as the time of Homer (*Il.* XI. 605), was a city in Arcadia. The chasm of which Plutarch speaks was one in its vicinity, into which the waters from the surrounding mountains flowed, and from which they were conveyed again by means of subterranean outlets. Any obstruction in these outlets was liable to occasion an immediate inundation. Pausanias states that such a catastrophe had taken place once in very early times, and that the waters rose so high that the city, although upon a hill, had been entirely swept away. It was afterwards rebuilt; but it would seem, from what is intimated here, that the inhabitants had recently experienced again a similar disaster, or at least were now threatened with a recurrence of it.* Pliny says (*xxvii.* 5, § 1) that the Pheneatae suffered this calamity five times. Their superstition led them to attribute it to the anger of Apollo. Cf. Hoff. p. 1144. The tripod which Hercules is said to have taken away, was that belonging to the temple at Delphi. At the distance of fifteen stadia from Pheneus, on the way to Pellene

* Leake visited these localities and found still remaining, on the "conical peak" where the ancient Pheneus stood, "some pieces of the walls with square and round towers." *Travels in the Morea*, v. 3, p. 146. A little village, Phonia (Φωνία), now occupies a part of the ancient site. See Rangabé's *Ἑλληνικά*, vol. II. p. 664.

in Achaia, was a temple of Apollo Pythias, which Hercules was said to have founded. He robbed one temple to enrich another.

6. *Συβαρίταις* *Ἡρας*. The cause of the anger of Juno is supposed to have been a profanation of her temple in Leucadia, an island of the Ionian sea off the coast of Acarnania. A slave had taken refuge in it from his master, but was pursued, and scourged by him while clinging to the altar, in disregard of the right to protection which the sanctity of the place conferred upon him. The Sybarites, we may suppose, were culpably indifferent to the act, or perhaps in some way extended a direct sanction to it, and thus the guilt became common. Their city was twice destroyed, once by the Crotoniats, B. C. 508, and again half a century later by the same people, as is related by Diod. Sic. XII. 9. 10. In speaking of three such disasters, Plutarch alludes to some other overthrow, of which no account has been preserved. The cessation of the evils, which the oracle foretold, may have been the peace and solitude which destruction brings with it. But the entire passage is very obscure, and all which critics have advanced upon it amounts only to an attempt at explanation.

7. *φράζων* is connected by *δέ* to the foregoing sentence, and introduces another instance of the absurdity there predicated of Apollo.

18. *καὶ εἰ*, not *although*, but *even if*. "*Hoc tenendum; καὶ εἰ semper habere gradationem, ut sit adeo si; εἰ καὶ autem ea gradatione carere atque simpliciter esse etsi, quanquam.*" Stallb. on Apol. Soc. 32. Cf. K. 81, 7; H. 874.

14. *διὰ τὴν* *ἀκολασίαν*. The crime of Ajax is unknown to Homer, and rests on some later tradition. It is disputed to whom the lines here should be attributed, whether Callimachus, Euphorion, or some one else.—*ποῦ δὴ, where, I pray?* *δὴ* connected with interrogatives, and with the imperative and optative expressions of the verb, augments the earnestness of the inquiry, command, or entreaty. See Acts xiii. 2; 1 Cor. vi. 20; Luke ii. 15.

16. *ὅτι στίζουσιν*, κ.τ.λ. If this was a punishment at first, it became in the end a mark of beauty or honor. (Herod. V. 6.)

The women of some other countries in northern Europe and in Asia, as ancient writers testify, imprinted figures on their bodies, or, as the South-sea islanders term it, *tattooed* themselves in a similar manner. — τιμωροῦντες — γυναῖκας. The Thracian women were said to have torn Orpheus in pieces at a festival of Dionysius.

XIII. 5. (P. 37.) Εἰεν is often a mere particle of transition; but it more frequently intimates that the speaker would change the topic of discourse, either because he has said all that he himself wishes to offer, or because he has heard enough upon it from another.

6. ἀληθινά = *realities*, as opposed to *fables*, μυθοῖς, below. And so generally ἀληθείς denotes the true in opposition to the false; ἀληθινόν, the *real* in opposition to the *apparent*; the *genuine* in opposition to the *spurious* or *shams*, as in Plato, or as in the New Testament, the *substance* in opposition to the *shadow*. "I am the *real* wine," "I am the *real* bread," sc. of which the wine and the bread commonly so called are only a shadow or imperfect image.—Εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα, ἀλλ' ἓνα, sc. ἀληθινά ἐστιν.—εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, τοῦτο μὲν ἕασον, *but if you do not wish to examine this point, sc. whether they are all fables, dismiss this question.*

14. τῶν ἐναγχοῦ, κ.τ.λ. These festivals, Σεοξένια as they were termed, were observed in various places and in honor of different deities. The one here mentioned was that of Apollo, which, it seems, had just been celebrated with great pomp at Delphi.

15. ἐκείνης is *deictic* here as once before. Of what the μερίς or conferred portion consisted, whether of land or a part of the customary sacrifice, or something else, is not known.—ἦν . . . ἀπογόνους. ἦν is the object both of ἀφαιροῦντες and of λαμβάνειν. Hütten speaks of it as a noteworthy circumstance, that there were some of the reputed posterity of Pindar still remaining in the age of Plutarch.

19. εἰ μὴ . . . φλογί, *unless he has a blackened heart, which has been forged with cold flames.* The expression is contained in a fragment of the poet, which Athenaeus has preserved, XIII. 601, D. The oxymoron in ψυχρᾷ φλογί is bold, but in the spirit of Pindar. The same figure is not uncommonly in the New Testa-

ment, though the paradox lies there generally in the thought rather than the words. "He that findeth his life shall lose it," Matt. x. 39; "Let the dead bury their dead," Luke ix. 60; "I know thy poverty, but thou art rich," Rev. ii. 9, are examples of it. See also in John vi. 51, ix. 39; 2 Cor. vi. 10, and viii. 2.—*μή* has an ironical force, *nisi forte*. The irony is more frequently strengthened by *ἀρα*, K. 324, 3. The exception challenged in such a case is always, in view of the proposer, an impossible one. See Kühner, *Ausführ. Gram.* § 823. 6.

20. Ἐὼ . . . λόγος. *I pass therefore the proclamation similar to this at Sparta, namely, next after the Lesbian singer . . . for the principle is the same, i. e. as in the other case, in which you admitted the propriety of the custom.* Terpander went to Sparta, at the request of the inhabitants, at a time when dissensions prevailed among them, which he was enabled to compose by his skill as a singer or rhapsodist. Hence the Lacedæmonians took from him their idea of perfection in such efforts, and were accustomed to say of a poet, when they would award to him their highest praise, *he is second to Terpander*.

23. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς . . . Δαίφανρον. Timon, as allied to the Opheltiadae, could display a high ancestry. Opheltæ, the founder of the race, was the son of Peneleus, who is mentioned in Homer (Il. II, 494), as one of the leaders of the Bœotians in the Trojan war. Daiphantus was a distinguished leader of the Phocians, who conquered the Thessalians in a memorable battle at Hyampolis, and was slain fighting against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea. Plutarch, as he himself states (*Virtut. Mul.* 224, B.), wrote a life of this chieftain, but it has not come down to us.

25. ἀξιοῦτε, *you deem it just.*

27. Λυκορμαῖοις καὶ Σαυιλαιοῖς. All that is known of these families or tribes, is intimated here. As the reputed descendants of Hercules, they claimed certain immunities and honors, to which their right, it seems, had been contested.

4. (P. 38.) ὧν . . . εὐεργετήσας. ὧν is genitive by attraction, its antecedent being genitive of price, or rather of merit: *the honors and rewards due for the services which he rendered to the*

Greeks, and for which he did not himself receive a suitable recompense or return.

9. *κακῶν ἢ πονηρῶν* must differ from each other, but how is not certain. According to the etymology which Ammonius, Hesychius and others adopt, *ὁ πονηρός* has an active sense = *ὁ πόρους παρέχων* (as in Latin *dolus* from *dolere*), and describes the wicked man in action; while *ὁ κακός* is more passive, and describes him with reference to his moral state or character. The abstract terms (*κακία, πονηρία*) which correspond to the adjectives, are found together in Rom. i. 29. It is necessary to add that some critics invert the order and assign the active sense to *κακός*, and the passive to *πονηρός*.

10. *Δεῖ γὰρ . . . ἀποδιδούση. For, if we preserve the reward of virtue in the family, we cannot reasonably suppose that the punishment for crimes must needs cease and fail sooner, but that it keeps even pace with that (sc. the reward) in rendering with due correspondence the just recompense.* *ἀπαυδᾶν* and *προαπολείπειν* are both intransitive here, and the *πρό* in composition seems to refer, like *ἐκείνη*, to *χάριν*.

16. *Λαχάρους ἢ Ἀρίστωνος.* Lachares, by the aid of Cassander, king of Macedonia, had raised himself to supreme power at Athens, which he exercised with the greatest rigor, but was soon deposed and banished by Demetrius, son of Antigonus. The history of Ariston, or Aristion, or Aristio, as the name is variously written, was very similar. He was in the pay of Mithridates, king of Pontus, and succeeded with his help in obtaining possession of the government, but rendered himself detestable by his insolence and cruelty. The capture of Athens by Sylla, the Roman general, B. C. 86, put an end to his tyranny.

17. *ὕψος . . . ῥᾶθυμος, weak and sluggish,* sc. in his sense of justice.

18. *μᾶλλον δέ, or rather, vel potius, imo quidem.* Cf. Stallb. on Plat. Crito, 63, D. See Rom. viii. 34; Eph. v. 11; Gal. iv. 9.—*φιλαίτιος—δύσκολος, fault-finding and captious.*

XIV. 10. (P. 39.) *αἰγὸς τὸν ἡρνγγίτην.* Pliny also (8. 76) attributes this property to a certain plant, but does not mention the name of it. The term under which Plutarch designates it

here is an uncommon form, for which other writers generally employ *ῥύγιον*, as he himself does elsewhere. He tells the same story in *Sympos.* 7. 706, D. and in *Philos. c. Prin.* 776, F.; and, by introducing it in the latter instance by *ὡς λέγουσι*, seems to beg of his readers to accept it as an illustration, even if they should doubt its truth. The plant is supposed by some to be the *eryngium campestre*; by others, the *scolymus maculatus* of Linnæus.

17. *εἰ πάθους*, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch means the plague which desolated Athens soon after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 430, and which Thucydides has rendered so memorable, by his description of it in the second book of his history. It was the general belief of antiquity, that this pestilence appeared first in Aethiopia and spread thence through Egypt and western Asia to Greece. Cf. *Lucret.* 6. v. 1139. *εἰ* imparts a color of doubt to the sentence which is merely rhetorical and not founded at all in the nature of the thought. It stands in fact for *ἔτι* or *ὥς*, and was a refinement, particularly common in Attic discourse, to avoid the harshness which belongs to unqualified, positive assertion. There are several instances of this usage in the New Testament: *Matt.* xviii. 28; *Mark* xv. 44; *Luke* xii. 49; 1 *John* iii. 13.—*ἀνεπλήσθησαν* sc. *νόσου*.

20. *δική φερομένη*, κ.τ.λ., *justice passed over with full effect to their descendants*. On this use of *φερόμενος* with verbs of motion, see Kühner, *Ausführ. Gram.* and *Lid.* and *Scott, Lex. s. v.* It is never superfluous, but has in some way an intensive effect, the precise nature of which must be determined by the connexion. *φέρων*, in an intransitive sense, is used in the same way.

21. *δυνάμεις*—*ἀναφοράς*—*συνάψεις*, *forces*—*relations*—*connections*.

XV. 25. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ*, *however, nevertheless*. See C. 671, 11; H. 848. e; K. 322, R. 11. The expression, as also the analogous one *οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ*, is elliptical, and may be the relic of some fuller expression. According to Hartung's analysis* (*Part* 2,

* Hartung: *Lehre von den Partikeln der Griechischen Sprache*, zwei Theile.

pp. 47, 48), the negative οὐ supposes that the verb which precedes is repeated in connexion with it, or that some such phrase as τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, is mentally supplied. μήν gives emphasis of course to this denial, while ἀλλά excepts from it the particular instance which is subjoined. Thus the verb to be transferred here is ἀγνοῖσθαι, and the expression in full would then be, *the cause is not unknown by us*, i. e. universally, *but the public punishment of states*, etc. The same view, it may be added, is to be taken of οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά. This ellipsis is said to occur more frequently in Plutarch than in any other writer.— γέ, here at least.

1. (P. 40.) αὐτῆς, by a *constructio ad sensum*, agrees in gender with πόλις as the leading noun in the sentence, but is governed by ἐξιστάμενον, as if it referred to ζῶον. Render, *not losing its identity*.

5. μέχρις ἂν, κ.τ.λ., *so long as the community which makes it (a city, or makes it one), and binds it together by its common bands, preserves its unity*.

11. τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις. It is implied that the αὐξόμενος λόγος, or *crescens ratiocinium*, was some well-known form of sophistry; but I find nothing, says Reiske, in what Diogen. Laert. VIII. 78, relates of Epicharmus, which shows that he either invented or employed any such mode of argumentation. It went perhaps under his name, because others, not so much in earnest as an exercise of ingenuity, reasoned from some of his doctrines in such a manner as to make them appear false and ridiculous. Epicharmus taught that all things are subject to perpetual change, and remain at no two different moments precisely as they were. (Plat. in Theaet. 152, E.) From this the wranglers took occasion to raise perplexing questions in regard to the identity of persons and things. The famous dispute about the ship in which Theseus went to Crete, affords an example of this species of reasoning. See Plut. Vit. Thes. c. 23. The noted argument also for proving that a bushel of grain does not make a heap, or twenty bushels, or these increased ever so much, fell under the same head. From this instance, which was much used, the figure was sometimes called in logic the *acervus*. See an allu-

sion to it in Horat. 1. Epist. 2, 47. Persius (Serm. 6, 76) terms Chrysippus the inventor of the *acervus*, and may mean either the mode of argument, so called, in general, or this particular illustration of it. The term *sorites* was also sometimes applied to it; but this designates more properly, both in its ancient and modern acceptation, an abbreviated form of the syllogism, but not necessarily sophistical. See this explained in Whately's Logic, p. 95.

18. *ὀφείλει* signifies also, tropically, *to be bound, obligated*, in a moral sense; but its meaning in Luke xi. 4, *to owe a person reparation, to be delinquent or in fault*, is Aramæan, and unknown to the classics. The derivatives, *ὀφειλέτης* and *ὀφειλημα*, have the same meaning transferred to them in Matt. vi. 12. Compare Stuart's N. T. Gr., § 8. 7. a.

18. *ἔρει τριακοστῷ*, *after thirty years*. See Matth. § 406. a. —*κινήματα*, *commotions, popular tumults*.

22. *διὰ χρόνου*, *after an interval*.

26. *ἄνθρωπός τε* is correlative to *πόλις τε*.

1. (P. 41.) *ὃ δίκαιον*, *with the same justice as*.

3. *εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον . . . ποταμὸν*. *The river of Heraclitus* was a sort of proverb, which arose from his saying that as no one could descend twice into the same stream, so it is impossible to find any object in the universe unchanged in any two successive movements. See Plat. Cratyl. 402, A. With the same allusion, Plato denominates those who held this opinion of *βέοντες*, as in Theæt. 181, A.

9. *ἀναφερούσης* = *bearing up, sustaining, or simply producing*.

XVI. 15. *ἀνδριάντα Κασάνδρου, κ.τ.λ.* It is not known that any other ancient writer speaks of this insult to the memory of Cassander; but it has nothing of course improbable in it, and is most likely to have taken place at the time, when Athens was wrested from his power, and transferred to that of Demetrius Poliorcetes. He had conquered the city and governed it for a time by regents, whom he appointed. *καταχαλκεύμενον*, *in being melted down*. The Dionysius intended is the elder of those who bore this name. The Syracusans revolutionized the

government some time after his death, and, as an expression of the abhorrence with which they remembered his tyranny, dug up his body and insulted it with every mark of ignominy.

21. Νυσαίφ . . . Ἀπολλοκράτει. Of these men the first two were the sons of Dionysius, and known only for their vices. The last two were the sons of Cassander, of whom Philip the elder was cut off by disease soon after the death of his father, and Antipater murdered by his younger brother Alexander, or, as others say, by Lysimachus.

6. (P. 42.) ἄλλο τι δίκαιον. The remedy is to be justified, if it cure the disease. Whether it does this or not, is the only relevant question, it is maintained, which the casuist may ask.

10. περαιτέρω τῆς αἰσθήσεως, *beyond what is evident to the senses.*

12. ἐκ δεκάδος ἀνελών, i. e., decimating, making an example of every tenth man, as a terror to his accomplices. This mode of punishment was very common among the Romans, especially in their armies in case of mutiny, or any breach of military discipline.

16. Ἐκεῖ μὲν, *in that case*, sc. in the case of the body; ἐν ταῦτα δέ, *while in this case*, sc. the case before us.

22. τῷ λόγῳ . . . ὑποτίθεσθαι, *to assume as the basis of your argument a great assumption, viz. the continued existence (literally permanence) of the soul.*

24. ὥς γὰρ . . . προεήλυθε, *for, from the beginning to this point, the argument has proceeded on the supposition that the Deity distributes rewards and punishments according to deserts.*

XVII. 27. ἔπεσθαι . . . ἐπιμενούσας, *that, from the manner in which the gods oversee and distribute all that pertains to us, it follows that our souls, etc.* ἔπεσθαι takes the last clause for its subject and is followed by the clause τῷ . . . ἡμᾶς in the dative, for the Greeks say, "it follows with," while we say, "it follows from."

2. ἀφθάρτους. Cf. Rom. i. 23, and 1 Tim. i. 17, where this word expresses the eternity of the divine nature, and 1 Cor. xv. 52, where it denotes the imperishableness of the future bodies of the saints.

3. (P. 43.) Οὐκ....ἀλλὰ. *No*, in answer to the preceding question, i. e., it does not follow, but ironically said. The phrase has this import precisely in Plat. Alcib. 1, 120 B., but the coincidence is accidental, since this turn to the thought did not lie in the expression itself, but in the tone which accompanied it. The argument is, that the Deity would never have lavished so much care and attention upon men if their existence were limited only to the present life. It is the same line of thought precisely that Addison unfolds so beautifully in No. 101 of the Spectator. See the passage already cited in the Argument, p. 81.

4. *κενόςπουδος*. See this rare word used of trifles, matters of idle curiosity, by Cicero in one of his Letters to Atticus, ix. 1. ὁ Θεός must here mean the Supreme God, or the Deity or divine nature in general, being equally comprehensive with τοὺς Θεοὺς in the preceding question, and including both the other gods and the god at Delphi of the following sentence.

6. ὥς Ὅμηρος ἔφη. In Il. VI. 146-9. Plutarch reads the passage manifestly as it meets the eye, and accommodates it to his purpose. The poet affirms nothing there in regard to the nature of the soul. He is speaking merely of human life and the rapid manner in which the different generations of men pass away, one after another. The distinction however between the soul and the body, which he is not led to notice in this passage, he asserts fully elsewhere, as also the kindred truths of the soul's future existence, and a state of rewards and punishments, hereafter. The moral views of Homer, in general, are among the best which can be found in any of the ancient heathen writers.*

9. ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους. This expression was current to designate a thing as perishable, short-lived. Wüstemann ad

* No one has drawn these out and presented them with greater fulness and accuracy than Naegelsbach in his *Homerische Theologie*, 1840. A summary view of the same topics is given by Thirlwall, v. 1. c. 6. See also Articles on "The Homeric Doctrine of the Gods," and "The Homeric Doctrine of Sin," in the *Amer. Theol. Rev.*, Oct. 1861, and Jan. 1862.

Theocrit, Id. 15, 118, gives the explanation of its origin, which is generally received. "Intellige testas, in quas lactucam, foeniculum, hordeum et triticum conserebant, quæ quum celerrime germinarent, brevi etiam marcescebant, quod in causâ est, cur *horti Adonidis* nominentur omnes res fugaces breviterque durantes." This view is somewhat modified as given in Pauly's Real-Encycl. pp. 67, 68. See Stallb. on Phædr. 276. B. Shakespeare has made the proverb familiar to us in English (King Henry Sixth, Scene 6th):

"Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens,
That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next."

11. ἐφημέρους ψυχὰς is the object of a participle, corresponding to *τιθηνοῦμεναι* and *θεραπεύουσαι*, and to be supplied from it, agreeing with τὸν θεόν as the subject of ποιεῖσθαι: *nursing and tending ephemeral souls as women nurse and tend the gardens of Adonis*. It is quite unnecessary to change it to the genitive, as Reiske and Wytttenbach would do.

18. προσφέρειν. Sub. ἐαυτῷ = takes to himself, *accepts*. So Soph. Phil. 1108: προσφέρειν φορβάν. The middle voice is commonly used in this sense.

22. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἑρακλῆς, κ.τ.λ. See note on XII. 5, p. 36.

4. (P. 44.) ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας, κ.τ.λ. Archilochus was one of the earliest lyric writers of Greece, who flourished about B. C. 680. Aelian is cited by Suidas, as relating this history in essentially the same way; while, according to another tradition which appears in some of the ancient writers, it was a certain Archias who slew the poet. The Corax here mentioned, whoever he was, is not to be confounded with a man of the same name, who is said to have been one of the teachers of Pythagoras.

9. πορευθεῖς . . . οἴκησιν. The oracle is expressed thus indirectly for the sake of the ambiguity which lies in the double sense of τέττιξ, as a common noun or proper name.

14. χρησθέν ἰλάσασθαι. Accusative absolute. Cf. C. 638; H. 792; K. 312, 5.

16. ἀπεσπásαντο . . . τὸ εἶδωλον. This last term signifies often *shade*, *spirit* of the departed, and, in all probability, should

be so taken here. Xylander translates the words *simulacrum templo avellerunt*, and Wytttenbach follows him in this; but it is by no means certain, as some have inferred, that they understood the passage differently, since the Latin *simulacrum* has very often the sense of *umbra*. The temple was that of Athena Alea at Tegea, in which Pausanias, who was under sentence of condemnation, had been obliged to seek shelter from his enemies, and where he was reduced by them to a miserable death.

XVIII. 19. Ἐάρερον οὐκ, κ.τ.λ. *it is not possible for a person to have one of these truths left, if he takes away the other.*

21. ἀποδίδουσαι is a *vox media*, which adapts its sense both to *τιμάς* and *τιμωρίας*, i. e., to enjoy and suffer. Our words *receive*, *pay*, *experience*, and the like, often unite the two senses in the same way.

22. Ἀγωνίζεται . . . ἀσλητής. The idea of life as a trial or probation is presented under the same figure in 2 Tim. ii. 5, and under a very similar one in Heb. xii. 2, and 1 Cor. ix. 24-26. On the use of figures in the New Testament derived from Grecian games, see "Games" in Smith's Bible Dictionary.

25. τῶν προβεβιωμένων, *for the deeds of the previous life*. Genitive of merit or crime, analogous to genitive of price, and referable to genitive of cause. O. 374; H. 577; K. 274, 2.

26. εἰσι, sc. χάριτες ἢ κολάσεις, which are attracted into the accusative. O. 525; H. 809; K. 332, 8.

1. (P. 45.) τοῖς δεῦρο, *those here*, we should say, but strictly *those hither*, because we are supposed to pass in thought from μὲν ἐκεῖ in the preceding clause, i. e., from the other world to this. On the use of δεῦρο in the apparent sense of ἐνταῦθα, see Passow, p. 485.

3. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐστίν, κ.τ.λ. It is not uncommon for Greek writers to pass thus from the construction of ὅτι with the indicative, to that of the accusative with the infinitive, or, as here, the participle used for the infinitive. Matth. § 539. 1. But the infinitive preceded by ὅτι, as in the second of these clauses, is much less frequent, though not unknown to the best writers, as is shown by Stallb. on Plat. Phaed. 63, C. Bernhardt remarks (Syntax,

p. 869), that while the usage prevails in the later Greek much more than the earlier, Plutarch employs it but seldom. Cf. Acts xxvii. 10.

8. ἀτυχήμασι χρωμένους = ἀτυχοῦντας. Substantives are often joined thus with χρῆσθαι, and express periphrastically the sense of the verb or participle, from which they are derived. The common explanation of the dative in this case, as that of the instrument, seems not altogether natural, but the usage points rather to some remoter and more general signification of χρῆσθαι, than that usually assigned to it. Comp. Bernhardt's Syntax, p. 95. Pres. Woolsey, in a note to the editor, suggests that the dative after χρῆσθαι must be explained from the sense of rubbing, coming into contact with, having to do with. Wytttenbach supposes, after Reiske, that some words have been lost between τίνοντας and οὐδεὶς, and the latter would insert χρὴ σφόδρα λυπεῖσθαι, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ταῦτα, or something similar. The correction brings out the thought with more precision, and is necessary, if we are to assume that a writer employs always the greatest conceivable accuracy of expression. It is not said that the MSS. give it any support.—ἀγαπήσειεν, *would be willing*.

12. λόγον . . . μῦθος. We are here to set aside entirely the distinctions which modern writers have drawn between these words. The former denotes simply a true account, or history; the latter, one which is fabricated. Plato frequently opposes these terms to each other in this sense, as in Phaed. 61, B; Protag. 324, D; Gorg. 523, A. Wytttenbach calls attention to the peculiar use of κινήσωμεν in this instance. Our language has a similar idiom, as when we speak of *starting* a subject or a conversation.

13. τῷ εἰκότι. *The probable argument*, in contradistinction to the λόγος, the narrative, or matter of fact, which he might relate. The *story* or *myth* is called for again at the conclusion, and there narrated. See XXII.

15. ἀποδοῦναι . . . τὸ εἰκός, that is, *to complete the probable argument*; literally, to render to the argument the probability that is its due.

17. εἴ γε δὴ, *if perchance now*, meant as slightly deprecatory of the judgment which is anticipated.

XIX. 21. πῇ μὲν . . . πῇ δ', *in some respects . . . in other respects*. This particle in this sense, says Passow, is incorrectly written πῇ, as the circumflex belongs to it exclusively as an interrogative. See Herm. ad Vig. p. 794.

26. διὰ τοῦτο . . . δι. *Are exhibited to all, for this reason, because it is the office of justice, when executed according to reason, etc.*

1. (P. 46.) Ἡ δέ, sc. ὁδῶ, κ.τ.λ. *But in what respect the comparison employed by Bion is pertinent to the subject of inquiry, escaped him.*—ἐπιτηδείως . . . νόσον, *having a predisposition to the same disease*, i. e., as his parent.

8. ἀλείπτῃς. This word passed, both among the Greeks and the Romans, from a narrower to a wider sense. It was applied among the former, at first, to those who waited on the athletæ and anointed them, before and after they engaged in the contests of the palaestra. The knowledge which they acquired in this way of the body and its functions, enabled them to give advice in regard to the health in general, and they were often consulted accordingly for this purpose. The ἀλείπτῃς among the Romans was properly the slave who anointed his master at the bath, but who, as in the other case, could perform also some of the duties of the physician.

14. παρακελευόμεθα is deponent middle: *do we not thus prescribe, requiring that all who are the offspring of diseased fathers or mothers, give heed to themselves.*

23. ἕνεκα . . . νοσῆσαι, *for the purpose of not being sick*. ἕνεκα is used both of things which are past, ὁδ, *propter*, and of those which are future, *causa*.

1. (P. 47.) χαίρειν ἐατέον. This phrase admits either τινά or τί before the infinitive. It is immaterial to the sense which is supplied here. *We are not to consider him*, i. e., the person who shows such weakness of character, or, *his opinion as worth regarding*. See Passow *sub* χαίρειν, 8. 6; Matth. § 416, 2; Stallb. on Plat. Phaed. 63, E.—ἄρ' οὐν. The interrogative has here the force of a direct negative assertion. ἄρα at the beginning of a

sentence, in classical Greek, denotes always a question, but in the New Testament may be illative in that situation. See Luke xi. 48; Rom. v. 18, vii. 3, x. 17; 2 Cor. vii. 12; Gal. iv. 31. Cf. Winer, § 57. 4.—σῶμα μὲν, *while therefore it is worth while to watch and cure the body, etc., must we leave the connate likeness of vice.*

6. κακόφρονα . . . καρπὸν. The true reading here is uncertain. τ' ἀμφάνη has been admitted by the later editors of Plutarch, instead of τὸν ἀμφανῆ, which Wyttenbach retains indeed in his text, but says, "magis arridet Ruhnkenii emendatio, κακόφρονα τ' ἀμφάνη . . . καρπὸν, qua ἀμφάνη pro contracto ἀνφάνη, proferat, edat, accipit."

XX. 8, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, κ.τ.λ. Works and Days, vs. 73, 74. The writer quotes apparently from memory, and has exchanged δυσφῆμοιο of the poet, for δυστήνοιο.

15. ἄγειν depends on παρεγγυῶντος, and has ἡμᾶς or τινάς understood for its subject, while ὡς with the genitive absolute denotes the subjective reason.

16. ἐκεῖνο . . . καὶ Ἡσιόδου. "Reddendum est, *non est opus quod praeceptis Hesiodicis perficiatur*, ut recte notavit Cel. Reiskius. Notissima est dicendi forma, quam illustravit J. D. Lennepius ad Phalarim, pp. 67. 94." Wyttenb. Cf. οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, Gal. i. 11.

19. πρὶν . . . καταφανείς, *till, under the influence of the passions, falling into great crimes, they are made clearly manifest.*

20. ἔτι νήπια, *while yet in their infancy.*

23. εἰς ἔθνη . . . ἐμβαλοῦσα, *casting itself into the mould of customs and opinions and laws.*

2. (P. 48.) διαλαβεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς, *their characters are concealed, I say, from us.* δέ serves often merely to repeat a thought for the sake of greater prominence, or of contrast with some other thought. This is the case especially after a parenthesis, or in sentences where the main idea has been pursued into various particulars. See Rost, p. 732. 3. c. a. The particle has this force in Rom. iii. 22, Gal. xi. 4, and Phil. xi. 8. The emphasis

on ἡμᾶς is derived from its opposition to θεός, which occurs further on.

5. ὅλως = *in fine*.

10. ἀμα καὶ = simul ac: *does not appear in his true character as soon as he is born.*

11. ἔχει μὲν χρῆται δὲ, *he has the vice in him from the beginning, but practises it, the thief his thieving, and the despot his lawlessness, when he finds the opportunity and ability.*

16. ἐν χειρὶ γενομένην, *when it has come to be in the hands, that is, when it is manifested in the outward action.*

19. πασῶν βιασθεῖς ὑβρισθεῖς. These participles denote the reason for the action expressed by the verbs = *because he has been wronged, robbed, insulted.*

XXI. 4. (P. 49.) καὶ ἀδικήσαντας, *even though they have already committed crime.*—διανοουμένους, sc. ἀδικεῖν.

11. οἶον ἐκποίητος, κ.τ.λ. The moral relation here is illustrated by a legal one. ἐκποίητος was a term applied to a person who had been adopted from one family into another. He escaped thus certain liabilities which were connected with his proper parentage, while he acquired a title to all the rights and privileges of the new relationship. So an individual who is born of wicked ancestors, and is consequently the natural heir of their guilt, is exempted from the punishment of it, if he himself is virtuous. He is now reckoned as belonging to another stock, and treated, so to speak, as the adopted child of virtue.

12. εἰς ὁμοίωτα ἀναφερομένῳ, *reproduced in the likeness of = representing, or resembling, a depraved family.*

15. Ἀντίγονός γε, κ.τ.λ. The particle here, had it stood before the proper name, would have denoted, that the entire proposition which follows is true as opposed to some different sentiment; but being after it, that it is true of this individual, whatever may be thought as regards others. This Demetrius is the same who is mentioned in Note XVI. 15. We have a life of him by Plutarch himself, in which he is described as the most corrupt man of his age, and put against Mark Antony as his parallel among the Romans. His son Antigonos, on the contrary, Plutarch ranked among the best examples of ancient virtue, as

appears more fully from his Vit. Demet. 40; Pyrrh. 84, and passages in his Apoth. He was not indeed without his reverses in life, but was certainly more successful than his father in his military enterprises and other measures. He was called also Gonatas,* in distinction from his grandfather, the first Antigonus, who was king of Macedonia.

16. τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων, κ.τ.λ. The crime of Augeas was his perfidy in breaking his contract with Hercules. His son, who was chosen umpire between the parties, decided against his father, and was banished from Elis for his justice. Hercules upon this, they say, made war upon Augeas, defeated him and put him to death, while he rewarded Phyleus, by bringing him back from his exile and transferring to him the kingdom of his father.—πάλαι ἡρώων has taken the place here of πονηρῶν, which affords no tolerable sense. Reiske was the first to suggest the change, and Wytttenbach says it must be admitted or πονηρῶν struck from the text.

17. οὐδὲ Νέστωρ, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch alludes probably to the war, in which Neleus and all his sons, except Nestor, were destroyed by Hercules. The provocation to this act, which the later writers assigned, was the refusal of Neleus to absolve Hercules from the guilt of murder. The Homeric account (Il. XI. 689 sq.) differs from this in several particulars.

19. διώκουσα . . . διεξῆλθεν = *pursues to the end*. C. 637; H. 798; K. 310, 4, l.

20. Ὡς γὰρ ἀκροχορδονες, κ.τ.λ. The apodosis of the sentence follows in οὕτω πολλάκις, towards the end of the paragraph. The sentence is protracted by the rush of new ideas which suggested themselves to the writer, but it is not irregular, except in the use of δέ instead of καί, as the connective in the second specification: τῶν δὲ Πύθωνος.

23. καὶ γυνή τις, κ.τ.λ. καί, *and for example*. See Ast's Plat. Lex. 2. p. 123.

* From Gonni, the name of a place in Thessaly, where he was born and brought up. But Niebuhr rejects this origin of the name, and derives it from a Macedonian word, meaning an iron plate for protecting the knee, because Antigonus made use of this unusual piece of armor. See Pauly's Real-Encycl. p. 530.

25. αὐτὴν . . . οὖσαν = αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐξανεῦρεν is one of the verbs which take their complement usually in the participle, where other verbs would be followed by an infinitive. Matth. § 549. For the proper distinction between the complementary participle and the infinitive, see C. 634; K. 311; H. 802.

26. τοῦ Νισιβέως παίδων, κ.τ.λ. Nisibis was a Syrian city in the northeastern part of Mesopotamia. (Hoff. p. 1842.) It had an important trade, and many Greeks among others had been attracted thither. Some would identify this place with the Accad of Scripture (Gen. x. 10), and others, with less reason, with Zobah (2 Sam. x. 6, 8). See Accad in Smith's Bibl. Dic. Pres. Woolsey, in a private letter, says: "As the ethnical name is Νισιβηνός, either the text must be wrong, or Νίσιβις must be a proper name. It is not likely that Plutarch would know anything of Thebans off in Nisibis, or that they would be there. One might conjecture, as the true reading, Νυσέως, of Nysa on Mount Helicon, or Νυσαρέως, both ethnical names being in use."—παίδων is partitive genitive after ὄς = *a recently deceased son of Python of Nisibis*. The same relative clause also contains the subject of ἐξανήνευκε, with which, therefore, it is not necessary to add τίς, according to the suggestion of Reiske.

27. τοῖς Σπαροῖς, lit. *the sown*. It was a name given to those who were said to have sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, and who were the founders of Thebes. Hence in the poets Σπαρτός occurs often for Θεβαῖος.

5. (P. 50.) ὅσπερ δὲ . . . φύσις, *but afterwards at length, and in other generations, nature causes the peculiar characteristic of the family to blossom forth and reappear in vice or virtue*.

XXII. 12. Οὕτως οὖν ἔφη, κ.τ.λ. Nothing of its kind can be more remarkable than the narrative which follows from this point, and constitutes the remainder of the treatise. It may have been invented directly by Plutarch himself, or repeated with more or less variation from some previously existing account, either oral or recorded; but it still remains, in either case, one of the most striking testimonies of heathen antiquity to the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. In its gen-

eral outline, the story is not unlike that of the Armenian Er, of whose restoration to life Plato discourses; but in the details the two narratives are essentially independent of each other, and furnish their own separate contribution to our knowledge of what the ancients thought on subjects of this nature. One other remark may be in place here. It will be found to be characteristic of the mythoplasms of the heathen writers relating to the other world (like those of Plato and Plutarch, for example), that they abound in disclosures respecting the future state which leave almost nothing for the imagination to supply or for curiosity to desire; whereas, in the instances of coming back to this life after dying (those of Lazarus, the widow's son of Nain, the daughter of Jairus,) which the New Testament records, a veil of the strictest secrecy is drawn over the interval of their absence and experience in the unseen world. It is not easy to account for this difference without accepting it as a criterion for distinguishing the true from the false in traditions or histories of this character.

13. Θεσπέσιος ὁ Σολεὺς, κ.τ.λ. Thespesius had this appellation from his birth-place, Soli, in Cilicia. The ruins of this city are seen rising in solitary grandeur by the modern traveller as he steams along those shores. Nothing is known of Protogenes beyond the intimation here that he was a Cilician, and resided for a time at Delphi.

18. ἐκ μετανοίας, *from repentance*, so far as regards the part of his conduct in question here. Having squandered his property and brought upon himself the evils of poverty, he resolved now to reform, and practise the economy and other arts necessary for the acquisition of wealth.

19. ἐπασχε πᾶσος, *exhibited the same conduct*. The sense is expressed often by the verb alone. See Rost, Gr. Grammar, p. 450.

25. εἰς Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεῖα, κ.τ.λ. The seat of this oracle was Mallus, in Cilicia. It took its name from Amphilochous, a Grecian, who, after the Trojan war, wandered, it is said, into this region and founded a temple and oracle, of which he was regarded after his death as the god. In his treatise De Orac.

Defect. 224, D, Plutarch represents the other oracles as almost universally silent, and this as among the very few which continued to enjoy any degree of credit. On the whole subject of oracles and prodigies as treated by Plutarch, see an Article on "The Theology of Plutarch," in the Methodist Quarterly, July, 1852. The progress which Christianity had already made at that time, was one of the causes, doubtless, which occasioned this decline of their authority. Milton, in his hymn on the nativity of Christ, sets himself back of the historical fact, and announces it as among the consequences of the Saviour's advent, as follows :

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.
Apollo, from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

26. *εἰ βέλτιον . . . βίον*, may be understood of moral conduct, or of worldly success ; and it is evident that Thespesius proposed the question here with this latter view of the meaning. The ambiguity on his part is represented as if it were accidental ; but that which appears in the reply of the oracle, is manifestly studied, that the answer may seem pertinent to the inquiry, while it is left to the future to develop what was really intended.

4. (P. 51.) *ἐξέθανε* is less explicit here than *ἀπέθανε* would be. It may refer to actual death, but not necessarily ; the death may be apparent only, a state of unconsciousness or suspended animation. For an example of the weakened sense, see Plato de Legg. 12. 959, D, where *ἐκτεθνηκέναι* and *ὄντως ἐκτεθνηκέναι* are opposed to each other.

5. *περὶ τὰς ταφὰς*, on the very eve of burial. Burial, as practised by the Greeks, consisted of various ceremonies, and hence the noun which denoted the act could be put in the singular or the plural. "Funerals" was often so used in the older English.

7. οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον, κ.τ.λ. We have here the highest description of moral excellence which the mind of the heathen enabled him to draw. Its utter deficiency, as compared with the Christian standard, is too obvious to need remark. How forcibly, also, are we struck with the same contrast, in observing the manner in which Plutarch applies his epithets "good," "virtuous," "noble," and the like, in the preceding parts of this treatise! What reprobation would Christianity pronounce even upon the fairest of the examples which this heathen moralist lauds with so much encomium! Surely now, nothing could be more significant, as a mark of distinction between the Christian religion and every other, than the different views which they inculcate in regard to what is right and wrong in human conduct. Ackermann (in his *Das Christliche im Plato*, etc. p. 59) remarks very justly, "That in no book in the world is so much said of sin and its consequences, as in the Bible, and in general nowhere so little, as in the heathen authors." And again in another place, he says: "That the Christian doctrine respecting sin was in the main foreign to classical antiquity and new, is abundantly manifest from the violent and sarcastic mode of warfare which its writers waged against the '*vile sinner's religion*,' as they contemptuously termed the gospel. See for example, Orig. *c. Cels.* 3, p. 486 sq. ed. Delar."* It is true, the solitary maxim of some pagan moralist may reveal now and then a glimpse of something better; but the forgiveness of injuries, it may safely be said, was hardly recognized as a duty, and still less insisted on as essential to the praise of virtue.† The nearest approach to this, perhaps, which the eulo-

* This able writer would make Plato an exception to this remark; but unless he means this in a comparative sense, we must set it down as an effect of that partiality for his subject, which he carries so far in many other instances also, as to impair greatly the general value of his work. He does not profess to be satisfied himself with any of the attempts which have been made to explain away the well-known passage in *Repub.* 5. 468.

† Chryses (*Il.* I. 37-42), the priest of Apollo, could come before his god, and after recounting his good deeds, challenge an answer to his wrathful prayer:

Τίς τιν' ἄνακτος ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεισιν.

It does not seem that there was anything revolting in this to the Grecian mind.

gists of classical antiquity have cited, is the remark of Isocrates in Nicoc.: 'Α πάσχοιτες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε. Gibbon (Hist. c. 54. n. 36)* affects to put this on a level with the Christian law of reciprocity in Matt. vii. 12, and speaks of it as the same rule promulgated *four hundred years before the promulgation of the gospel*. But, it will be observed, even this precept is purely negative in its character, and forbids no more than a spirit of retaliation. Further, Christianity, it is to be remembered, prescribes the duty of forgiving and loving our enemies among its first requisitions, and, more than all, furnishes in the spirit and life of its Author a living exemplification of this virtue, infinitely more impressive than any didactic inculcation of it from the lips of a teacher, however earnest or reiterated.

16. τὸ φρονεῖν, *the intelligent part*.—ἀναπνεῖν ὅλος, *to recover breath entirely*.—ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ὀφθαλμοῦ, *as if it were one eye*, or, as we say, *all eye*.

24. τόνον ἔχουσαν, Xylander gives by *efficacitate praeditum*. It means, probably, that the rays of light were shot forth from the stars with great force, and possessed, like a sort of atmosphere, the power of supporting the souls of the departed, and of enabling them to transport themselves freely from one place to another.

XXIII. 1. (P. 52.) ψυχὰς . . . φλογοειδῆ. Cicero, as cited by Wytttenbach, says (Tusc. 1. 17): "Reliquae duae partes (animae), una ignea, altera animalis—hae sursum rectis lineis in

It was not the unguarded, hasty utterance, for which heathenism, after the manner of the Gospel, turned upon its votaries with the rebuke, *You know not what manner of spirit ye are of*. What a contrast to this have we in the attitude of the apostle of Christianity, as he says to those who had wronged him, "I will gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you the less I be loved" (2 Cor. xii. 15), and again in the precept of the author of Christianity, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you." (Matt. v. 44.) See this topic illustrated with much learning and discrimination in the chapters of "Ecce Homo," entitled, "The Law of Forgiveness."

* Milman's ed. v. 4, p. 36.

coelestem locum subvolant, sive ipsae natura superiora appetentes, sive quod a gravioribus leviora natura repellantur. Quae cum constant, perspicuum debet esse, animos cum ex corpore excesserint, sive illi sint animales, id est spirabiles, sive ignei, sublime ferri." Thus, in the representation here, the soul, on leaving the body, immediately rises and assumes at first the appearance of a globular flame; this gently and gradually dissolves, and a spiritual form then emerges from it, which, as appears from the sequel, has such a resemblance to the personal manifestation in this life, that individuals can at once identify and recognise each other.—ἐξισταμένου τοῦ ἀέρος, *the air being displaced before them*.

5. κινουμένας δ' οὐχ, κ.τ.λ. This dissimilarity in the motions of the different souls is intended no doubt to be significant of their moral state and character. Those who disengage themselves most readily from the body, and mount upward so instinctively, are the good who have subdued their passions, and, from an affinity of nature, seek at once the higher regions, which are most remote from matter and its contaminations. The confused motion of the others, on the contrary, who are whirled with such fury hither and thither, indicates the moral disorder of their souls. They are the wicked, who have allowed their passions to control them, who are destitute of all power of calm and considerate action. Similar views are expressed by Plato in Tim. 44, A; de Legg. 2. 672, B.; Tim. 43, A. See Ritter's Hist. of Philos. v. II. p. 373, and elsewhere.

13. οὐτ' ἦσαν παρ' ἑαυταῖς, *nor were self-collected, possessed of their senses*.

16. αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτάς, *alone by themselves*. This distributive sense of the preposition is common; but the strengthened form of the phrase by αὐτός is rather a usage of the later Greek. Bernhardt's Syntax, p. 240.

19. Σρήνον . . . μεμυγμένας. The verb of this participle takes uniformly in the active voice the accusative with the dative. It is not limited, however, to the latter case in the passive; but may be followed by the genitive of the source or material, out of which anything is mixed.

20. τοῦ περιέχοντος. Τὸ περιέχον is often used by natural philosophers to signify *space*, and not unfrequently, as here, to signify the *air*, or atmosphere. Cf. p. 57, l. 11, where the meaning is more obvious.—ὀφθῆναι depends on φαῖδραι, *bright* (joyous) *to behold* = Latin, *adspectu splendidae*.

23. διεσήμενον . . . προσιέμενον, *displeasure they manifested by contraction or crowding together among themselves, but joy and approbation by expansion and separation from each other*. The scene is one which Thespesius sees at a distance, and hence the meaning of it is conveyed to him by means of outward signs. The representation for this purpose conforms to what the ancients supposed to be the effect of different emotions on the mind. As they were accustomed to speak of the heart as dilated by joy, and, on the other hand, as contracted by sorrow or grief, so here the inward impulse appears in the outward movement; these souls press together or stand apart, expand or contract their ranks, as it were, in unison with the different passions which agitate by turn their minds. Wytttenbach, in his note on the place, has referred to various passages in ancient writers, which show how common it was to speak in this manner. That from Porphyry, Pythag. Vit. c. 35, is one of the most striking: οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἡδονῆς διεχείτο πλέον, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνίας συνεστέλλετο. The examples in Plato alone are frequent, and will be found noticed by Stallbaum on Cratyl. 419. C, and Sympos. 206. D. The repeated use of the neuter participle here, instead of the corresponding abstract noun, deserves to be remarked. Of this more vivid mode of expression, none of the Greek prose writers, says Bernhardt (Syntax, p. 327), availed themselves so often as Plutarch and Thucydides.

3. (P. 53.) τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε, *henceforth*. Comp. Matth. § 283; Butt. 346. 5. Thespesius receives a new name, it is supposed, to indicate that he is now to change his character and to be in future a better man. So Abraham and Peter receive new names when they assume a new character and new relations.

4. οὐδὲ γάρ sustains often the same relation to a suppressed negative idea which καὶ γάρ sustains to an affirmative one. See Hartung, part 1. p. 211. "You were mistaken," Thespesius is

told, "in regard to your name; nor are you correct in another apprehension; for you are not dead," etc. So also, Acts iv. 34; Rom. viii. 7.

δ. τῷ φρονεῖντι . . . ψυχῇ. Wytttenbach suspects that originally *ἄλογον* may have stood in the text, instead of *ἄλλην*. The distinction which Plutarch probably had in view, would have been more clearly expressed in that case, it is true, but it may be considered as involved also in the terms which we find before us. τὸ φρονεῖν we may understand as denoting what the Greeks, the Platonists especially, expressed more frequently by *δ νοῦς* or τὸ λογιστικόν; that is, man's intelligent nature, or the faculties which he possesses in common with the Deity, and which distinguish him from irrational creatures. Hence Plato sometimes terms these also τὸ ζεῖον or τὸ ἀθάνατον τῆς ψυχῆς. His other soul, the ἄλλη ψυχὴ as it is here called, would embrace the remaining powers and passions of man, those which depend upon his present physical organization, and which constitute, in distinction from the other, what Plato denominates his mortal soul, τὸ θνητὸν τῆς ψυχῆς (Tim. 65, A), or at other times τὸ ἄλογον, or ἀλόγιστον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς (Repub. 4. 439, D). These latter the Platonists subdivided again into (1) τὸ θυμικόν or θυμοειδές, or man's innocent appetencies or impulses, the *pura naturalia* very nearly of some modern theologians, and (2) τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν or χρηματιστικόν, those passions which belong to the brutes and make brutes of men, so far as they yield to them.* Several other terms also occur in the sequel, which are best explained with reference to these distinctions in Plato's psychology. In a more popular sense of the term, ψυχὴ often signified merely the principle of animal life, *anima*, which ceased with the breath, as opposed to νοῦς, *animus*, the understanding or soul usually so called. Paul recognizes a threefold distinction in the nature of man, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα (1 Thess. v. 23), and distinguishes ψυχὴ from πνεῦμα (cf. Heb. iv. 12), and ψυχικός from πνευματικός. (Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15; xv. 44-46.)—τῷ φρονεῖντι is the limiting dative in respect to the action of the verb.

* See on this subject Reinhold, LB. Gesch. d. Phil. § 67; Rixner, B. I. L. 215; Tennemann, B. II. p. 430 sq.

7. τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς, κ.τ.λ. The article calls attention to the clause or proposition which follows, *namely, to wit.* It is a frequent idiom, especially in the writings of Luke and Paul, the most Hellenistic of the New Testament authors. Cf. Winer, § 30. 4. *Let it be a sign to you both now and hereafter*, i. e., a means of distinguishing between the living, and such as are actually dead, *that the souls of the latter neither cast a shadow, nor wink with their eyes.* This criterion, as Plutarch himself states in *Quaest. Graec.* 300, C, is quoted from the Pythagoreans. The first of these properties, that of no shadow accompanying the spirits of the departed, results from what was supposed to be the nature of the soul. "Anima enim, sive simplex est, ut plerisque placuit, sive, ut Democritus et Stoici volunt, igneae materiae, umbram facere non potest, τὸ γὰρ φῶς οὐ ποιεῖ σκιά, ut ait Plutarch. de Facie Lun. 932. D." Wytténb. What the Pythagoreans meant by the other characteristic, it is more difficult to say. Possibly it was some mere superstition which the vulgar belief had connected with the souls of men after death. Or it may denote, it has been conjectured, the faculty of clearer perception, the power of steadier, calmer contemplation, which may be supposed to be an attribute of the soul when freed from the disturbing influences of the body.

12. ἐαυτῷ . . . συναυρουμένην, *accompanying himself*, strictly appended to him, or suspended with him. Some editions omit the first or the second τινά; but the repetition serves to increase the indefiniteness of the description, and, as Wytténbach shows, is by no means without example.

XXIV. 15. ὥσπερ . . . πανσέληνος, sc. ὥρα. The description here rests upon the idea that the sins which men commit stain and disfigure the soul, and, when violent and excessive, that they tear and lacerate it, so as to cover it, as it were, with wounds and bruises. These mutilations, as soon as the veil which the body had spread over them, is rent, are laid bare, and every person appears then as he really is. The writer here has no doubt followed Plato in *Gorgias*, 524-5, E and A. The passage which Prof. Woolsey cites there from Tacitus (*Annal.* VI. 6), belongs also here: "Neque frustra praestantissimus sa-

pientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse adspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur." This striking thought reminds us of Paul's declaration (2 Cor. v. 10): "For we must all be made manifest (*φανρωσῆναι*) before the judgment seat of Christ."

25. τῶν πονηρῶν, κ.τ.λ. The correlative adverb either of the first or second clause of such a comparison is often omitted. We have here an ellipsis of οὕτως after οὐδεῖς.

27. ἄλλη δέ, κ.τ.λ. *one punishment belongs to one guard and minister, there being three of them, and another to another.* ἄλλη φύλακι = φυλάκων. The common gender of the latter admits of a direct agreement between the words. Adrasteia, according to another genealogy, was the daughter of Jupiter and Night. The origin of the name is doubtful. Some consider it merely an epithet of Nemesis, and suppose it derived from Adrastus on account of an altar, which he is said to have built to this goddess. The later Greek writers resolve it into *a priv.* and *δρᾶν* or *διδράσκειν*, *to flee*, as importing the certainty of the vengeance which Adrastea inflicted on the guilty.

11. (P. 54.) ἠφάνισε καὶ κατέδυσε. For this achronic or gnomic aorist, used where we commonly use the present, to express a general fact, see C. 572, 2; H. 707; K. 256, 4, b. It will be observed, that the aorist and the present are used interchangeably in this description of the punishment of the wicked. Where the aorist is used, the act seems to be represented as more instantaneous and decisive. Compare *ἔδειξε* below, l. 25, with *δικαιοῦται* in the same sentence, where the *πολὺν χρόνον* requires the present.—*ἄρρητον καὶ ἀόρατον*, i. e., Tartarus; where, it is implied, the class of offenders of whom Plutarch speaks were to remain forever. In this he has merely repeated the view and almost the language of Plato in *Phaedo*, 118, E: οἳ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν . . . τούτους δὲ ἡ προσήκουσα μοῖρα ῥίπτει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὔποτε ἐκβαίνουσιν. Hence the punishment, which in the case of curable sins has a reformatory design and efficacy, is here penal and ultimate. Compare with this the description of Tartarus, *Aeneid*, VI. 578 sq.

"Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
 Districti pendent; sedet, aeternumque sedebit,
 Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
 Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras,
 'Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos.'"

14. ἐν Πέρσῃ, κ.τ.λ. It was Artaxerxes Longimanus, as Plutarch states in Apophth. 178, D. who instituted this punishment. Before his time, it had been customary for the Persian kings to inflict personal chastisement on the criminal, and to pull out the hair of his head. He chose, while he abolished a barbarous custom, to rely upon the honor rather than the fears of his subjects.

19. αἱ πολλαὶ, *for the most part*.—αἰσῶσιν αὐτῶν i. q. τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The antecedent is loosely implied perhaps in ἐν τῇ βίῃ of the preceding sentence. Wytttenbach would change αὐτῶν to ἄλλων. But αὐτῶν is opposed to πάντων in the next sentence. The chastisements of Poena in this life appeal for the most part to the opinions and to the sensibilities of the sufferers themselves, while the punishments inflicted by Dike in the future life are applied to the soul in full view of all, and especially of relatives and friends.

25. πάντα, *in every respect*. The change to κατὰ πάντα, by Reiske is unnecessary. See O. 437; H. 552; K. 279, 7, R. 10.

1. (P. 55.) ἑξαιρούμενος—πόνοις, *expiating* (lit. taking away) *each of his passions by pains and sufferings*.

3. τοὺς διὰ σαρκὸς, *pains of the body*. The expression of itself might signify *in the flesh, while living*, like διὰ τοῦ σώματος, 2 Cor. ii. 4. Observe ονείματος in the singular, which is uncommon. See Lexicon.

14. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἣ τε . . . ἐνταῦθα δέ. *For as there* (in the former life) the vice of the soul imparts various colors to the body, *so here* (in the world of retribution) *there is an end of purification and punishment when these* (the passions) *are wholly purged out*. δέ instead of τέ or καί, in the second member, emphasizes that member. See Lidd. and Scott under τέ, VIII: τέ followed by δέ.

26. ἣ μὲν sc. ψυχῇ. γένεσιν may be taken passively, *birth, entrance into life*; and thus the distinction indicated by μὲν and

δέ becomes more apparent. Two reasons are given why some of those, who have once been in the body, return to it again. One of them is, an excessive predominance of the practical or active powers (τῇ πρακτικῇ) over the contemplative (τοῦ θεωρεῖν); and the other, a love of pleasure, which makes the body indispensable to the soul as an instrument of fulfilling its desires. The return to life, in these cases, seems to be represented, in some sense, as the result of choice, or, more correctly, as made necessary only through the soul's voluntary continuance in a moral state which renders a pure spiritual mode of existence incongruous and irksome to it. There were also other grounds on which this procedure was supposed to take place. It is described more commonly as a punishment for previous sins, or as a penalty which the soul must pay off, whether inclined to the re-union or not, by the degradation and misery of being imprisoned in some brute form. To this Plutarch alludes in the sequel.

1. (P. 56.) ὀργάνου δεομένη, *wanting intemperance as a means of gratification.*

10. τοῦτο πασχούσας, *meeting with the same experience, or being in the same state*, sc. as himself, that is, left to move and act for themselves.

XXV. 13. ὁφθαῖναι, sc. τὸ χάσμα. The infinitive stands for the indicative, or depends upon ἔλεγε understood, which is often omitted in the *oratio obliqua*. The ordinary construction returns in ἐξέπνει. The explanation of this scene is given by the guide himself, at the close of the description, in the words διδάσκων ἄμα, κ.τ.λ.

22. Ἐλεγε δὲ ταύτῃ, sc. ὁδῷ, *by this way*, through this chasm. Bacchus, as son of Semele, and therefore mortal, in order to become a god must ascend from hades, or, in other words, be exempted from the power which death has over men. What Banier says (Erläuterung der Götterlehre, etc., B. VI. p. 524) will best explain the remainder of the allusion. "When Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch say, that Bacchus descended into the lower world, in order to fetch his mother thence, they intended to speak, it may be supposed, of an evocation or conjuration of the

shade of Semele, or rather of her apotheosis; that is, he brought her, so to speak, from the lower world, and transferred her to heaven, where, under the name of Thyone, she took her place among the goddesses. Pausanias says, that Bacchus descended to hades through the Alcyonian lake, in the region of Lerna, and that a certain Polymnus showed him the way, because Bacchus possibly was assisted by him in the ceremony of the conjuration or apotheosis." See Horat. Od. II. 19.

26. ἐκτίκεται καὶ ἀνυγραινεται, κ.τ.λ. What the analogy was which led to this transfer of the properties of water to the soul, it is not difficult to perceive. Water as a heavy body gravitates freely to the earth; and as sinful passions create a similar tendency in the soul, as they draw it down to the earth, to low, grovelling objects, the epithets wet, humid, flowing, heavy, were very naturally applied to the soul under the influence of corrupt inclinations. Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and Plato (Phaed. 81 O), had used the same circle of expressions before. The conception, however, is supposed, not without reason, to be oriental in its origin, rather than Grecian. The same idea is said to be a familiar one in the Hindu philosophy at the present day. See Henry's Hist. of Philosophy, p. 38.

3. (P. 57.) ἦν οὕτως ὀνομάσθαι, κ.τ.λ. There was a fanciful etymology which derived γένεσις from ἐπὶ γῆν νεύσις. Some of the later Greek philosophers were very fond of employing such conceits in illustration and support of their doctrines.

5. τοσαύτην . . . ὁδὸν, as great as the ἅπλετον τόπον, which he had previously traversed.—ἀφορᾶν, to see at a distance.

21. οὐδενὸς . . . κοινωνεῖν. By this denial, Plutarch claims tacitly a character of greater truth and certainty for the Delphian oracle, than he was willing to allow to other sources of divination. This jealousy for the fame of Apollo discovers itself also in other parts of the narrative. It will be recollected, that towards the close of his life he became himself a priest of Apollo, and resided for a time at Delphi, partly in this character and partly in that of a sort of commissioner, under the appointment, probably, of the emperor Hadrian, for repairing and ornamenting the buildings of the temple.

23. οὐδαμοῦ—περαῖνον, *limited to no particular part of the world.*

25. Ἐκ τοῦτου, *from this oracle.*

26. ὄνειροι μινγύμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Dreams in general were regarded by the ancients as prophetic—γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν—(II. I. 63); and at some of the oracles, as that of Amphiaras at Oropus, they were the only medium through which communications were made.

1. (P. 58.) τὸ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος, *but the oracle of Apollo.*

2. ἀνωτέρω γὰρ, κ.τ.λ., *for the earthly part of the soul does not release you and permit you to ascend, but tends downwards, being attached to the body.*

6. κολῶν τῆς Θέμιδος. The agency of Themis was not to be overlooked in this account of the oracle. There was a tradition that she had presided over it before Apollo himself, and had been his teacher in the arts of prophetic intuition and divination.—ἀπεριδόμενον = *conveyed.*

9. ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ, *besides some other things.*—ἐκείνου, *sc. of Thespesius.*

12. ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ . . . περιφερομένην. Some of the ancients supposed, that what we call the face of the moon was that of the Sibyl, looking forth upon the earth and singing, as she revolved around it, the fate and fortunes of its inhabitants. See Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 398, C. She was originally, as Clemens Alexandrinus states the Greek belief (Strom. L. 1, p. 223, ed. Hein.) upon the earth, but after her death had her abode in the moon, and continued to utter thence her predictions.

16. περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος κ.τ.λ. Plutarch alludes to the eruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 79, which overwhelmed several cities and devastated a great part of Campania. This event was said to have been foretold in the ancient Sibylline books long before its occurrence: and in his treatise de Pyth. Orac. 398, C, Plutarch assumes this as a fact so well known, that he urges it as an unanswerable argument against those who ridiculed the idea of a knowledge of futurity.

17. Δικαίαρχειας. Dicaearchia was one of the cities destroyed at this time, and is the place mentioned in Acts xxviii. 18, under

its Roman name Ποσειόλοι, now *Pozzuoli*, not far from Naples, where Paul disembarked on his arrival in Italy on the way to Rome.

18. περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. The emperor Vespasian is supposed to be meant, who died a natural death, while nearly all his predecessors perished by violence. To the justness of the praise bestowed on him, Tacitus also bears witness, *Hist. I. 50*: "solusque omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est." See also *Suet. Vit. Vesp. 10*.

20. πρὸς τὴν Ξέαν, κ.τ.λ. "Malorum poenas jam supra narra-verat, sed ex persona ductoris, qui eas Thespesio exponit. Nunc ipse eas spectat." Wyttenb.

22. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ, κ.τ.λ., *for, on the other hand, though he would not have expected it, Thespesius fell in also with friends and relatives and acquaintances, being punished.* Thus we may translate ἐπεὶ if we retain it in the text; ἔπειτα, suggested by Reiske and approved, though not admitted into the text by other editors, would be an easier reading.

XXVI. 1. (P. 59.) κατεῖδεν, *looked down*, as opposed to βαρά-σπον; that is, he saw his father below himself.

4. τῶν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις, *those who presided over the punishments.*

14. ὡς ἀνάγκην, κ.τ.λ. Thespesius would gladly have shunned the objects which now meet his view, but is thrust forward into the midst of them in spite of himself. οὕτω seems to repeat the idea of ἀσούμενος, *since there was a necessity thus*, under these circumstances of compulsion, *to pass on.*

15. γνωρίμως πονηρῶν, *openly wicked*, known to be such by the world, as contrasted with the secretly wicked, who are next mentioned.

16. οὐδ' ὁμοίως, *not in the same degree*, i. e., as they had been punished in the present life, or perhaps, as those were punished after death, who had passed through the world with a false reputation for virtue.

17. τὸ ἀλογον καὶ παθητικόν. Cf. note XXIII. p. 53, l. 5. παθη-τικόν corresponds perhaps to the Platonic ἐπισυμητικόν as there explained, except that in addition to the source or seat of cor-

rupt passions in the abstract, which the term strictly denotes, it would here include naturally the accessory idea of the debasement and pollution which the soul has contracted from the indulgence of such passions.—ἀτελῆ . . . ἐπίπονον οὖσαν, *being subjected to ineffectual and laborious efforts* for the gratification of the irrational nature and the passions, this being the sum of their comparatively light punishment. The text is pronounced corrupt by most editors, and they are at a loss for any suitable amendment.

23. αἱ θαλάττιαι σκολάπενδραι, κ.τ.λ. The same property is attributed also by the ancient naturalists to the *vulpes marina*. See Plutarch de Solert. Animal. The statement no doubt has some truth for its foundation. Dr. Peyssonnel (Phil. Trans. Vol. LI. art. 6) describes "a marine scolopendra of very small bulk and square figure, whose body and head were formed of eighty rings, and which had a power occasionally of throwing out its intestines. The four sides of this animal were armed with prickles, and every ring had four bundles of them, which are sometimes spread out like fans; those under the body served the insect as feet. These scolopendreae, being placed upon the fingers, thrust a great number of their prickles into the skin, and caused a sharp pain, resembling the effect of fire, of some continuance."

26. τῇ . . . κυρίῳ, that part of the soul to which the *sovereignty* belongs.

8. (P. 60.) ὧν . . . ἔδρασαν, *for what they suffered or did when they were alive*. ὧν is genitive by attraction, its antecedent understood being genitive of merit or crime. O. 874; II. 577; K, 274, 2.

4. εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας, κ.τ.λ. The terrific passage in Plat. Repub. 10. Cap. XIV., should be compared with the narrative here. We subjoin a part of it as given in the words of Prof. Woolsey in his Introduction to Gorgias, p. 48. The speaker is a certain Er, a Pamphylian, who is relating an experience similar to that of Thespesius in Plutarch. "Among the frightful spectacles that we saw," he says, "this was one: When we were near the mouth of the chasm, and were expecting to go upwards, after

enduring all the other things appointed, on a sudden we saw this Ardiæus* and others, nearly all of them tyrants; although some enormous transgressors among private persons were there also. When they thought they should now go upwards (out of the chasm), the mouth would not let them pass, but uttered a bellowing sound, whenever any such incurably wicked person, or any one who had not paid a sufficient penalty, endeavored to ascend. Thereupon wild men, said he, all fiery to look upon, who stood by, when they heard the bellow, picked out and carried off a part of the transgressors; but Ardiæus and others they bound hand and foot, and threw them down, and beat them hard, and dragged them along on one side of the road, scraping them upon thorns, while to the by-standers they told the reasons why these sinners suffered these things, and that they were drawn along to be plunged into Tartarus. There, said he, of all the fears, many and various, which fell upon us, this was the greatest,—lest, when each one was going upward, the mouth should utter that bellow, and most gladly did each one hear no sound as he ascended."

6. *ἐφεστάναι δαίμονας*. There were, as the Greeks held, both good and evil demons. Whether Plutarch would have us regard those who are here set to torment the wicked, as of the former class, and as acting therefore merely as the executioners of justice, or as of the latter class, and hence as gratifying the malice of their hearts, at the same time that they exact a deserved penalty, does not entirely appear. It is remarkable, that Plutarch speaks, in another place, of an ancient, well-known tradition, which represented it as one of the employments of evil demons, to tempt men and render the path of virtue difficult to them. Stillingfleet (Orig. Sac. p. 515) cites it from the life of Dion as running thus: "That there are certain wicked and malignant demons which envy good men, and withstand their enterprises, by raising fears and troubles to them, that so they

* This Ardiæus was a sort of Cain, who was said to have killed his father and brother, and to have perpetrated other foul crimes. He lived in the earliest times, and was a tyrant in some city of Pamphylia.

might hinder them in their pursuit of virtue, lest, if they continue steadfast and immovable in good, they should be at last partakers of greater felicity than they themselves enjoy."

8. ἐν μέρει, *alternately*.—δι' . . . πλεονεξίαν denotes the cause and manner of their wickedness.

21. εἰς . . . περιῆλθεν, came round to, and at length fell upon. Cf. Rom. v. 12 : εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν.

27. τῇ προγινώσκειν denotes the cause of their lamentation : *because they foreknow their punishment*, by having already experienced it. H. 611 ; K. 285, 1.

3. (P. 61.) νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας sc. ἀλλήλων, *crowding thick upon each other*. ἀτεχνῶς, according to the etymology, *without art*, but in this sense written ἀτέχνως. The thought here and the language in part are borrowed probably from Odys. XXIV. 5-10.

4. Ἔσχατα δὲ ὁρῶντος, κ.τ.λ. This idea of a metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul through different bodies, was familiar to the Greeks as early at least as the time of Pythagoras, and acquired subsequently new authority from the prominence which Plato gave to it in his religious system (Phaedr. 248, E ; Repub. 10. 614, A). It is astonishing to what extent this doctrine has obtained the credence of mankind. It was held, in some form or other, by most of the nations of antiquity ; and constitutes, as is well known, a fundamental article of belief in the Buddhism and Brahminism of the East, at the present day.* The notion has both its theoretic and its practical side. If we confine our view to the simple theory, we may no doubt, as its eulogists claim, discover in it the traces of much important truth. It affirms, certainly, the soul's immortality, expresses the natural sense of man in regard to the evil of sin, and the feeling of the heart respecting the need of purification as a means of union with God. Fr. Schlegel in his History of Philosophy (v. I. p. 202 sq. as translated by Robertson) has given us a picture of the system in these respects, which, to say the

* The German student will be interested to consult Bauer's Symbolik 2, 2. p. 306 f., p. 412 f ; Stuhr's Religions-systeme B. 1. p. 101 f.

least, conceals none of its merits. "In this doctrine," he says, "there was a noble element of truth—the feeling that man, since he has gone astray and wandered so far from his God, must needs exert many efforts, and undergo a long and painful pilgrimage, before he can rejoin the Source of all perfection; the firm conviction and positive certainty that nothing defective, impure, or defiled with earthly stains, can enter the pure region of perfect spirits, or be eternally united to God; and that thus, before it can attain to this blissful end, the immortal soul must pass through long trials and many purifications." But turn to the other side, and to what does all this amount in fact! What is there in practice which corresponds at all with such elevated sentiments! We look for it in vain. The degree of error, on the contrary, with which the doctrine associates whatever of truth there is mixed with it, especially the pantheistic element, which lies so often at the bottom of it, leaves man still under the dominion of his passions, and presents to us examples of as great depravity, individual and social, as can be found under any other system of false belief. Look, for instance, at the condition of the Eastern Indian nations, at the present moment. The mixture of pride and debasement, of professed sanctity but actual lust and cruelty, which appear in their religion, are some of the legitimate fruits of such speculations, and show, notwithstanding the favor which they sometimes find, even in Christian lands, what the direction is of the subtle philosophy which would destroy the distinction between God and his creatures.

5. ὁπῶτερος seems to be properly the genitive absolute denoting time = *while he was seeing*, and was probably intended to limit the statement in the next sentence in regard to the soul of Nero; that is, to define the circumstances under which his soul was seen suffering such punishments; but the circumstances are drawn out to such length as to constitute a sentence by themselves. The next sentence, however, begins without a connective, and it may be doubted whether the editors have done right in separating it from this.

8. τῶν μὲν . . . παντάπασιν, *in some cases hammering the en-*

tie limbs together (thus reducing them within a smaller compass), *in others twisting them off* in a new direction, *and some filing off and making away with them altogether.*

14. Προχειρισμένων . . . εἶδος. *When the workmen had taken this soul in hand and were preparing to give it the form of a Pindaric viper.* Προχειρισμένων in its primary signification (to take in hand), would take ταύτην in the accusative; in the secondary sense (to prepare) in the dative; and here it seems to unite the two. Some editors read ταύτη.

15. Πινδαρικῆς ἐχίδνης. It is most natural to understand this of some celebrated comparison of Pindar respecting the viper, though not found in any production of his which remains. Another supposition is, that the term denotes some particular species of this reptile. The proposal to incarcerate Nero in such a form has reference, no doubt, to his conduct towards his mother Agrippina.

16. βιώσεσθαι. Reiske prefers βιώσεται, which would make the construction simple and regular. But the infinitive may depend on the continued force of προχειρισμένων.

19. μηχανησαμένους agrees with δημιουργούς understood as the subject of μεταβαλεῖν.—ἐλη καὶ λίμνας. "Nota vero discrimen inter λίμνη et ἔλος, quorum hoc, stagnum terra undique inclusum, et exitu aquarum carens; λίμνη, in quam aut fluvius incurrit, aut ducta fossa cum eo conjungitur, atque iterum exit." Wesseling. ad Herod. I. 191. Whether under ζῶον we should understand the frog or swan, is disputed. Nero, while living, had affected a talent for music, and sometimes gave the Roman people a taste of his skill, by appearing with his harp on the stage. He is said to have carried his ridiculous vanity so far, as to have caused a coin to be struck with the inscription NERO APOLLO. See Spanh. Jul. Caes. 53.

23. ἡλευθέρωσε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Nero had abolished the taxes and tribute which the Greeks had been accustomed to pay to the Romans, and, to enhance the value of the favor, had himself made proclamation of it at the Isthmian games. The measure had no permanent effect upon the political state of Greece; but the former relations between the Greeks and their Roman

masters were soon reestablished by Vespasian.—Μέχρι = μέχρι τούτου, *thus far*.—εἶναι, sc. ἔλεγεν.

27. οὗτος, *you there!* like the Latin *heus*.

1. (P. 62.) οἱ ζωγράφοι are those who painted in encaustic, as it was termed, i. e., burnt in their colors with a heated rod or stylus. It is said to have been one of the later improvements in painting, at least so far as regards its general adoption, and was valued for the greater durability which it gave to work executed in this manner. See Hoff. Alterthumswiss. p. 1041-2; Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. p. 685. Supply προσάγουσιν after ζωγράφοι. The case employed after ὥσπερ, ὥς, ὥστε, may be either that of the noun which precedes, or the nominative with an implied repetition of the verb.

2. ἐτέραν δὲ κωλύειν, *but another woman prevented*.

4. ἀναβλέψαι . . . μνήματος, *and opened his eyes again just at the entrance of the tomb*, i. e., as he was (just) on the point of being buried. Cf. XXII: ἤδη περὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήνεγκε.

APPENDIX.

Had Plutarch any knowledge of Christianity ?

THIS question has been answered with so much unanimity in the negative, and on grounds so decisive, that it is surprising some few should persist still in affirming the contrary. Plutarch was born, it is supposed, about A. D. 40; at Chæroneia in Bœotia, resided at different places, as Athens, Rome, Delphi, Alexandria in Egypt, as some say, and died about eighty years of age, A. D. 120. He flourished, therefore, during the latter part of the first, and the beginning of the second centuries. At some of these places, it is well known, there were at this time Christian communities, larger or smaller, and hence it was possible, certainly, that Plutarch should have met with individuals of the new faith, and have become acquainted with their doctrines and sacred books. The mere fact of this possibility, however, can weigh little or nothing against the universal silence of his writings in regard to the subject of Christianity. Much, indeed, which he wrote has been lost, but much still remains; and in that which remains, embracing discussions relating to almost every subject of religious, political, or social interest, we meet with so many natural occasions for speaking of the Christians in an explicit manner, that we can account for it only from his ignorance of them, that our author in all his numerous works has left us not the slightest trace of any certain allusion to them. The only passage in which it is pretended that any discovery of this sort can be made, is one in the Symposium,* where he mentions a class of philosophers, who, on account of

* Lib. IV. Quaest. 4. c. 3. p. 503, ed. Wytténb.

the efficacy which they attributed to hope as the supporter of life, received the name of *ἑλπιστικοί*. The allusion to them, if it were admitted here, would show only that some rumor of the spreading sect may have reached him; but the question is, whether he probably possessed any definite knowledge of Christian views, and added from these to his own. Such a reference, however, in this passage, is more than doubtful. Since it contains nothing, as Tzschirner in his examination of it (*Opusc. Acad.* p. 285 sq.) argues, which would lead us to suppose that it is a hope of heaven, such as the Christians cherished, which is there intended, and since the Christians who lived in the time of Plutarch neither called themselves philosophers nor were so called by others, it is quite impossible to believe that this term, *Elpistics*, points to them.*

Nor is there any reason to think that Plutarch had any acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures. He shows, indeed, in several passages of his works, a knowledge of the Jews, of some of their peculiar rites and opinions, but at the same time discovers so much gross ignorance of their belief, religion, and history, that it is impossible to believe he could ever have seen, and much less have studied their sacred writings. He repeats, for instance, the blunder of some of the other ancient writers, who, mistaking the Jewish abhorrence of swine for veneration, assert that the Jews worshipped this animal as their god.

The question why a man like Plutarch, who lived at a time when the Christians were becoming numerous, should have remained so estranged from them, is a different one, and resolves itself into the more general inquiry, why the classical Greek and Roman writers of this period, with few exceptions, discover so little knowledge in their works of the great moral revolution which was taking place around them. For an answer to this deeply interesting question, we would refer the reader to Tzschirner's discussion already cited, *Græci et Romani Scriptores cur*

* Brucker also, in his *Hist. Crit. Philos.* Vol. III., p. 911 sq., as cited by Tzschirner, denies the correctness of such a reference.

rerum Christianarum raro meminerint (Opusc. Acad. p. 283 sq.), and to a translation of the same in the Biblical Repository, January, 1838. There is an admirable discussion of the same topic, especially so far as respects the principles of testimony which should be applied to the case, but with less fulness or historical detail, in Chalmers' Evidences of Christianity, chap. 5. There are some good suggestions on the subject in Rawlinson's Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records (Bampton Lectures for 1859, Lecture VII). The question, as far as relates to our author, is briefly considered in an article on the Life and Times of Plutarch in the Methodist Quarterly for January, 1850. The reader is also referred to this article, together with articles in the same Quarterly, July, 1851, and July, 1852, for further information touching the Life, Character, and Writings of the Greek moralist and biographer.



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